THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 160 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 10, 1945 NUMBER 10

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Published weekly and copyright, 1945, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

THE ACT OF CHAPULTEPEC SETTING UP A security plan for the Western Hemisphere is a very tentative document, but even so it represents a revolutionary change in inter-American relations. For it clearly pledges all the nations of the hemisphere to act together, using force if necessary, to protect the independence and territorial integrity of any nation threatened with aggression. The pledge holds only for the duration, and the whole plan must be fitted into the larger framework of a world security agreement. But meanwhile it involves commitments that certainly go far beyond anything the United States delegation to the Mexican conference anticipated or probably wanted. The fact is, the act was something of a political coup. It arose out of the widespread feeling of insecurity and resentment created by the State Department's handling of the Argentine issue. Without previous consultation, the United States had practically forced the Latin-American countries to support our quarantine of the Farrell government. But a policy which was safe and easy for a great power four thousand miles away was packed with danger for Argentina's neighbors. Undoubtedly the security plan first proposed by the Uruguayan delegation was in large part an answer to these unilateral tactics: it gave notice, in effect, that if the United States insisted upon exposing the Latin-American countries to the threat of armed attack the least it could do was to sign a pledge of mutual defense. The original proposal called for a permanent, unequivocal collective-security agreement. This our delegation could not accept, first, because it would probably conflict with the provisions of the United Nations charter, and second, because it would have to be submitted to the Senate for approval. By clever diplomacy and quick footwork, the delegation produced the compromise finally adopted. It serves at least to demonstrate our good intentions, but the future of Pan-American security lies not in Mexico City but in San Francisco.

*

THE ECONOMIC CHARTER OF THE AMERICAS proposed by the United States delegation at the Inter-American Conference in Mexico City is full of fine phrases about "rising levels of living," "economic liberty," and "the abandonment of discrimination." But, as Anita Brenner observes elsewhere in this issue, the Latin-American countries are not much interested in generalities; they want assurances against sudden cancelation of war orders and aid in developing greater industrialization, without which they can have little hope of improving their standards of living. On these questions the charter conspicuously fails to get down to earth. In the matter of new industries, it accents heavily

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reliance on private enterprise and includes a pledge by the signatories "to refrain from the establishment of state enterprises for the conduct of trade." This sounds like an attempt to impose our economic system on our neighbors as the price of any aid we may afford them. With regard to the problem of commodity surpluses, which may become acute after the war, the charter does recognize that *laissez faire* is not a sufficient answer. Consequently, it suggests that a solution may be found in "agreed national and international action looking to the expansion of consumption and the readjustment of production, with due regard to the interests of consumers and producers and the requirements of an expanding world economy." Obviously, this question, like so many others touched on by the charter, is much more than an inter-American one. We hope that eventually it will be tackled by a world conference on economic planning and in far more concrete terms than have been employed at Mexico City.

*

GENERAL DE GAULLE, ABSORBED IN PLANS TO restore the power and glory of France, appears increasingly anxious to postpone consideration of fundamental changes at home. In a speech to the Assembly last week he accepted the necessity of state control of key industries during the war but indicated a desire to avoid "changes in structure." The program of nationalization, he declared, must await the advent of an elected Parliament, and any measures taken in that direction he regarded as purely provisional. This speech proved extremely disappointing to the Assembly, which is largely composed of leaders of the resistance. The resistance movement in France was not solely concerned with throwing out the invader; it was deeply conscious of the urgent need for radical social and political changes. In its clandestine meetings, in its underground press, there were long and earnest discussions of the causes of the moral and material collapse of 1940. And one conclusion common to almost all the resistance groups was that the industrial and financial monopolies in France, which had constantly thwarted the popular will, must be taken over by the state. Since the controllers of these monopolies to a large extent were also collaborationists, the liberation offered a matchless opportunity to break their power forever. But six months after the liberation little has been accomplished in this direction. The program of socialization drawn up by Pierre Mendès-France, Minister of National Economy, has been shelved, and all too many of the big industrialists who collaborated eagerly with the enemy remain at large and in full control of their enterprises. With large numbers of French workers unemployed, with nearly all of them hungry, the dangers of a policy of inertia are self-evident. The moral energy created by the resistance movement is being dissipated; social fissures are again threatening national unity; cynicism is returning. It is time General de Gaulle turned his attention to the domestic scene, lest the foundations of the French renaissance crumble beneath him.

*

THE PLOT TO RETIRE HENRY WALLACE TO private life has happily been frustrated. Voting in the Senate on his confirmation as Secretary of Commerce followed more or less party lines, but it is interesting to note that the Republicans were more split than the Democrats. In the end only five nominal supporters of the Administration broke away to vote against Wallace, while ten Republicans, or more than a third of those present, gave him their support. Shorn as the Commerce Department is of the accretions of power which Jesse Jones secured when he merged it with the RFC, it still remains an important bridgehead from which to launch an offensive against unemployment and depression. Within its walls are such agencies as the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Standards, and the Patent Office. There are able public servants on the department's roster, but their brains and energies have been frustrated during the reign of the last two Secretaries, Harry Hopkins, who was in bad health, and Jesse Jones, who had other fish to fry. Mr. Wallace, however, is sure to breathe a new spirit into the department just as he did when he took over the Department of Agriculture in 1933. Incidentally, now that the battle is over, we notice tributes to the new Secretary's abilities from unexpected quarters. Thus a Washington correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal* writes: "Visionary or not, Mr. Wallace is regarded by most Washington officials as a competent administrator. In the Department of Agriculture . . . he showed pretty conclusively that he could handle day-to-day questions with practical solutions. . . . Those he hires are usually men of vigor and intelligence, though again they are often men of controversy who would as soon innovate as follow precedent. Above all they are men who have, or gain, great loyalty to him." Coming from such a source that is not a bad testimonial. Republican papers please copy!

*

IN THE DAYS OF THE WAR-DEBTS DEBATE, SOME twenty years ago, there was a funny story about a Congressman who insisted firmly: "We don't want their gold, we don't want their goods; we want their money." Life, however, has a habit of being stranger than fiction; so we are not surprised to find Clare Luce saying that she's for "cold cash on the barrelhead" from Germany rather than "reparations in kind" as proposed by the Yalta agreement. How would you like to take your change, Clare? In German marks? No doubt you'd prefer dollars. But how do you think Germany will get the dollars except by selling goods directly or indirectly to us? We hate to bother your pretty head with these abstruse matters, but as a member of Congress you really ought to know more about them than you appear to have learned in your previous careers as "playwright, author, journalist, foreign correspondent, and lecturer" (Congressional Directory). Why not ask Henry to have one of the tame but intelligent economists he keeps around his *Fortune* office explain the whole thing to you?

*

MANY GERMANS DO NOT WANT TO GOVERN themselves, regard Germany's future as an Allied problem, and hope to be treated as a sort of United States colony. These are some of the findings in unofficial reports from three American educators attached to the Psychological Warfare Branch of the Twelfth Army—Dr. Karl Padover,

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Dr. Paul Sweet, and Lewis F. Gitler. The three, who have held extensive conversations with hundreds of Aachen civilians, say that many of them look upon Nazism as foreign rule established by Hitler, himself a foreigner. Racial indoctrination has had as little effect as the effort to create a super-nationalism; given the opportunity, German girls are quite willing to marry Americans or even Russians. As to anti-Semitism, several said: "When the Jews were here they had stores and you could buy things. Now you can buy nothing in the stores." 'Teen-agers, who might be expected to be most fanatical, generally expressed anti-Nazi sentiments. The young people do not discuss democracy, a word they cannot define, but they speak of a longing for fun, for freedom from regimentation. Properly channeled, these desires might become powerful tools in the regeneration of Germany. With Aachen schools about to open, the opportunity is immediate, the problem difficult. Recently Allied officials were pleasantly surprised to receive a memorandum from three Aachenites, one a teacher, advocating that education be reorganized on the basis of truth, whose meaning had been lost under Hitler. But investigation revealed that the teacher had been a member of the Brown Shirts. In Aachen only ten teachers were to be found who had retired rather than teach the Nazi way. Where are the other teachers to come from? Possibly only those Germans interned in concentration camps for refusing to betray the principles of truth and liberty can now be trusted to revive a love of freedom and the humanities in Germany. Or are their beliefs too heretical even for the liberators?

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THE DEATH OF JACQUES DORIOT, FRENCH FASCIST leader, announced in Berlin, found officials in Paris rather skeptical. One of them was quoted as saying, "I would like to see the corpse." There was something suspicious even in the wealth of detail lavished by the Berlin radio on the Allied air attack that killed the most hated of all collaborationists. Two other French fascists of lesser rank, also reported killed by Berlin some time ago in similar accidents, later miraculously came to life in the guise of parachutists who had dropped in French territory with the purpose of starting a new fascist organization. Obviously the well-developed Nazi plan of distributing agents throughout the world even before the fighting in Germany is over has as one of its details the "death" and "burial," with all honors and the greatest possible publicity, of men assigned to missions abroad. Thus to the Hitlerite slogan, "Fight to the Death," has been joined a new one—"Fight Even After Death!" It fits well in the macabre tradition of National Socialism. But it more than justified the French official in asking for a tête-à-tête with the corpse of Doriot. Indeed, all the Doriots who betrayed their country to serve Hitler can be considered no longer dangerous only when they fall, not under the bombs of a remote Allied plane, but under the bullets of an anti-fascist firing squad.

✳

NEW YORK STATE TOOK A LONG STEP TOWARD the abolition of racial discrimination when the Assembly, after a bitter debate, passed the Ives bill by an unexpectedly large margin of 109 to 32. Although the measure was initiated by the Republican leadership and backed by Governor Dewey, all the negative votes were cast by Republicans. The triumph of the measure without crippling amendments had been assured at a public hearing on February 20 which had been forced by the opposition in the hope of disclosing popular antagonism to the bill. To the consternation of its opponents, the hearing provided a remarkable demonstration of the wide backing which the bill had obtained. Representatives of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths joined with delegates from both factions of organized labor, civic organizations, and representatives from Negro and other minority groups in powerful support for the measure. Although racial intolerance cannot be stamped out by legislative action alone, passage of the bill should make it impossible for the intolerant to deny others an equal right to a decent livelihood.

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> Hula dancer, grade A, female, is usually a young but experienced worker. . . . The most common apparel is the leaf dress or sarong encircling the shapely trunk with bare skin between the top of the garb and a band six inches or more wide which sometimes restricts migration of the upper forward side of the worker.
>
> There is little movement of the shoulders, stress being on the middle section as the hula progresses.
>
> [Hula dancers, grade B, female] are fully trained, possessed with intense desire, but due to accumulated torso bulges, the speed has greatly moderated.
>
> The worker uses less of the foot work, knee bend, and rotary movements of the hips. Instead, considerable emphasis is directed on the straight forward and backward pull and push motion, interspersed with the Cuban grind.

These vivid if rather self-conscious paragraphs are quoted from the proceedings of the War Labor Board in Honolulu, which has been sorting out hula girls for the purpose of determining wage raises. Maury Maverick once complained that government literature ran to gobbledegook, but we are sure he would agree that such a phrase as the "migration of the upper forward side of the worker" has its charm, even though it flouts that old rule about the shortest distance between two points.

John L. Lewis Rides Again

JOHN L. LEWIS has lost none of his cunning in industrial warfare. Opening his spring offensive, he has made a number of moves which have caught his opponents off balance. First, by filing a thirty-day strike notice he complied with the provisions of the Smith-Connally act and so secured his rear from legal attack, unless the government once again takes over the mines. Then, instead of launching the expected direct assault on the Little Steel formula, he drove at its flank by putting before the operators a series of demands all of which, since they do not involve an actual increase in hourly wage rates, could be regarded as "fringe" cases. Taken one by one, each of these demands seems reasonable enough; woven together they form a fringe equivalent to a good, thick blanket increase.

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Among the financial demands in the eighteen-point program put forward by Lewis a leading item is payment for all time spent underground at the full rate, with rate and a half after seven hours a day and thirty-five hours a week. At present under the "portal-to-portal" formula miners get only two-thirds of the rate for underground-travel time and nothing for the fifteen-minute lunch period. Other proposals include premiums of ten and fifteen cents an hour for workers on the second and third shifts respectively; free supplies of explosives, special clothing, and so forth; vacation pay of $100 instead of $50 and pay for six holidays. None of these involves any new principle.

However, Lewis has made one demand which breaks new ground—the proposal for the payment to the union of a royalty of ten cents per ton to enable it to provide medical and health services, insurance, rehabilitation, "and economic protection" for its members. This would mean a payment to the union treasury of $60,000,000 a year. There is a great deal to be said in favor of levying a charge on coal production to be devoted to the welfare of the men who dig it. Living for the most part in isolated communities, they have been cut off from many of the amenities and services available to other citizens. They need and deserve improved facilities for health and recreation. In Britain this fact was recognized twenty-five years ago, and a Miners' Welfare Fund was established which is now financed by a levy of two cents per ton on salable coal and 5 per cent of coal royalties. But this is a statutory fund controlled by a government-appointed commission which includes representatives of the miners, the operators, and the general public.

This seems to us the proper basis for such a scheme. A statutory fund is a permanent fund; it is not liable to be discontinued at some future time when the coal operators are in a better position to call the tune than the miners. Moreover, a levy on the production of a commodity does not come out of profits; it is always paid by the general public. This fact was, indeed, admitted by Lewis when he said that the net cost of the royalty to the owners would be $24,000,000 after tax adjustments and this sum could be passed on to the consumer. It seems to us, therefore, that citizens as a whole, through their government, should have something to say about the disposal of any fund raised by such means.

We realize, of course, that this would not suit John L. Lewis's book. While no doubt anxious to get all he can for the welfare of "his" miners, Lewis is certainly not blind to the power aspects of the proposal. The addition to the union treasury of a fund of this size, with no legal strings attached to it and under the sole control of the union officials, which means Lewis himself, would be a weapon of incalculable value. It is just for this reason that the operators must be expected to fight the proposal tooth and nail even though it would not cost them a penny.

If the royalty proposal raises an issue which seems incapable of settlement by negotiation, the conglomeration of wage demands appears to add up to a sum which the War Labor Board cannot approve without dealing a final blow to the weakened structure of wage and price stabilization. The actual cost of the miners' demands is still a matter of debate. The operators' representatives have estimated it at 55 cents a ton, excluding the royalty, or about $2.70 a day per worker; the miners' figures are only 18 cents and $1.08, but even on this basis the increase in the cost of producing coal would amount to over 6 per cent. It is probable, therefore, that a grant of the wage demands would mean a rise in coal prices and thus conflict with the order of Economic Stabilization Director Fred F. Vinson to the War Labor Board not to approve "fringe" demands which force an increase in prices.

We have, then, the makings of another major industrial conflict in which the government will be bound to intervene. In giving strike notice Lewis declared, "We will work diligently and forthrightly for the next thirty days to prevent, if possible, interruption of coal production so vital to the prosecution of the war." But for all this apparent recognition of his responsibilities, he has made it clear that peace in the coal fields can only be achieved on his terms. When he put his demands before the operators his manner was so truculent, his references to the stabilization program so scornful, that it is reasonable to assume he was deliberately challenging the government to take over the mines and invoke the penalties of the Smith-Connally act.

Lewis has won in the past great benefits for the miners. They have reason to believe in him and they will probably back him to the limit. But while in the short view his leadership may seem to justify itself, we question whether in the long run it will prove beneficial to either the miners or the labor movement as a whole. As the undisputed boss of the United Mine Workers Lewis has a monopolist's grip on an industry vital to the national safety. He is threatening to use that monopoly irresponsibly, to exploit the nation's needs to gain his ends. This is a challenge to the community apt to provoke counter-measures of a kind which would make the Smith-Connally act, which Lewis calls "that grotesque slave statute," look very mild indeed.

The Fight Ahead

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE President is in for a fight on Yalta. His report to Congress last Thursday was received respectfully but not with great enthusiasm. Comment in the newspapers and over the air has been guarded. This is partly to be explained by the speech itself. Mr. Roosevelt's manner was friendly and informal—perhaps a little ostentatiously so—but the substance of the address seemed thin and the total effect rather loose-jointed and inadequate.

He was at an obvious disadvantage. As usual he had been scooped by his journalistic colleague, Winston Churchill, and the Prime Minister's report to Commons two days earlier was so massive and complete and politically astute that the President could hardly help producing an anti-climax. Indeed, I think Mr. Roosevelt is always at a disadvantage when he is forced to compete with Mr. Churchill. By contrast he seems, in spite of his enormous experience, a political dilettante. He lacks the poise and thrust you feel in Churchill.

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But the storms he is going to face are not of his making. He could not have dissipated them by a better speech. Indeed, his promptness in reporting to Congress and his almost open appeal for cooperation made a favorable impression. They announced clearly that Mr. Roosevelt will neither ignore Congress nor slight the Republicans. He is going to do his best to carry the legislature into the peace-making process as it goes along instead of coming before it with demands for its indorsement of accomplished facts. And by starting this process while the war is still being fought, by absorbing it into the very texture of the war, he makes effective opposition still more difficult. Yalta, he has said in effect, is a part of the final phase of the fight against Germany; you may question some of the decisions made there—I'm not altogether pleased with all of them myself—but you dare not challenge the agreement as a whole or threaten the unity of the three powers on which it depends. Mr. Roosevelt's position is immensely strengthened by the realization on the part of all but the isolationist maniacs that this is the truth.

But if the facts of the case tend to minimize opposition, they will not silence it. Already one can see lines being drawn, in the country and in Congress, alliances being formed, ammunition being piled up. The big fight will come later; perhaps it will be delayed until after the San Francisco conference. But its outlines and the plans of campaign are already visible and should be studied.

By and large the attack on Yalta and all that may emerge from it at San Francisco will be waged on the issue of democratic rights and aimed particularly at the dominating position of the three big powers. Behind this will lurk hatred of Britain and fear of Russia—twin bogies of the whole nationalist-isolationist party. Poland will become their mascot. And an immense effort will be made to organize the fight around the demands of the smaller nations for an effective share in the new world organization. Already you find Burton K. Wheeler solemnly sponsoring a United States of Europe, and crying to heaven against the Allied betrayal of Poland—he who opposed every form of cooperation to prevent this war and dismissed the *German* attack on Poland as hardly worth a protest. And you find men and women of honest liberal convictions rallying to the same position on the ground that a new league of nations will fail as the old one did unless it is built on a completed foundation of international justice.

In this fight, in which cold partisan tactics will be inextricably tangled with idealistic appeals, the tendency will be for supporters of collective responsibility to rush to the other extreme and reject all criticism of Yalta and Dumbarton Oaks. Already I have heard one of the most effective advocates of the President's program urge liberals to soft-pedal their doubts and demands at least until after April 25.

I am against this strategy. It seems to me more than merely dishonest; by refusing to consider or discuss the obvious imperfections in the security plans so far made, you abandon the whole field to the enemies of any security system. Two weeks ago in this page I discussed the intimate relationship between our foreign policy and a workable security system. The most impressive and substantial United Nations structure that can possibly be built at San Francisco would soon crumble under a continued attempt on the part of Britain and the United States to rule Europe through reactionary puppets like Franco and Papandreou. Equally important are such changes as will give the lesser nations an effective role in the new world organization. A full-fledged rebellion against three-power dictatorship might easily prevent the security plan from being carried through.

What is needed, in my opinion, between now and April 25, is a full and careful examination of the most controversial issues affecting world organization—the Yalta decisions specifically included. The State Department, through its radio forum and all its other educational activities, should stress, not minimize, those issues. It should encourage persons who support the general principles of collective action to criticize specific aspects of the program. It should initiate discussions of the treatment of Germany. (Is the United States going to favor using the German army to restore areas devastated by it? *The Nation* urged such a plan many weeks ago. In a press conference held the day after his address to Congress, Mr. Roosevelt casually suggested that it might be a good idea. But surely it is worth serious debate, as are the other problems involved in the control of enemy territory.) The State Department should arrange to have the various views on the position and role of small nations freely circulated. Fifteen Latin American nations have agreed on a set of proposals on this issue to be presented at San Francisco. The Dutch have submitted a note to the United Nations suggesting definte changes in the Dumbarton Oaks plan. The French have opinions of their own on this and other provisions; they have even refrained from joining the other major powers in issuing the invitation to the conference in order to retain complete freedom to raise questions at San Francisco. The whole problem presents another issue on which the conference may well founder if it is not dealt with both fairly and radically. It should be talked about in advance—and not only by isolationists or Anglophobes who use it to prove that as long as colonies exist, no international organization is worth having.

I suggest that the State Department promote this discussion for several reasons. First, because it has launched a campaign into which such a debate could easily be fitted. Second, because the State Department is the focus, and with good reason, of many liberal fears and suspicions, and it might partly overcome hostility by providing a forum for conflicting opinions. Third, because the government should take the lead in insisting upon and even dramatizing the flexibility of the security programs so far drawn up. This is obvious political strategy—by far the best way of disarming opposition.

As for the rest of us, our job is clear. Starting from the double premise that a security organization must be formed and that it must rest upon solid agreement between the great powers, we have not only the right but the urgent duty to try to clear out all the impediments to a decent working plan that we can possibly get rid of. For those impediments would not only stand in the way of effective action by a world organization; they might easily prevent such an organization from coming into existence by providing its enemies, in Congress and out, with the weapons they need to bring it to defeat.

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The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE past three weeks on the western front have presented a pretty good model of how a military campaign should look. It is not surprising that the Russian military mission visiting the front—one of the first fruits of Yalta—was impressed: the operation has many of the earmarks of a first-class Red Army performance, combining careful preparation, extensive artillery barrages, simultaneous advances on different sectors of the front, and then breakthrough, encirclement, and pursuit.

The preparation for the main effort across the Roer River and the Cologne plain was especially noteworthy. The Canadian First Army, under the good Canadian General Crerar, carried out a very effective little amphibian war in the marshes at the northern end of the front, pushing steadily southward between the Rhine and the Maas. The American Third Army, under General Patton, continued eastward, after eliminating the German salient in Belgium, through the rough Eifel country down the Moselle; the high point of this operation to date has been the swift seizure of Trier.

Meanwhile the main show had got under way against the center of gravity of the western front—the Roer line anchored about Düren and Jülich. This line, marking the closest and most dangerous approach of the Allies to a vital spot of the Reich, the Ruhr-Rhineland region, was something the Germans simply had to hold. As long as they possessed the trump cards of the Roer dams, they were fairly safe: if the Americans manifested a desire to cross the river, the Germans could release the dammed-up waters as an additional barrier before their fortifications on the east bank; or if the Americans actually crossed the river, the Germans could release the water and cut the Americans off from their supply base.

Once the dams were lost and the water released at the last moment by the retreating Germans had subsided, there was no longer any question about where the blow would fall. The way it fell, however, the swift and daring manner in which the river was spanned by boats and bridges, may have startled the enemy. The fighting on the east bank must have been hard during the early days of last week. But the Americans were bringing more troops and supplies over all the time as the advanced units worked through the cities and strong points back from the bank; Allied aircraft dominated the skies; and the two holding attacks on the north and south prevented any movement of reinforcements to this most-threatened area.

Von Rundstedt knew he could not hope to hold the ground between the Rhine and the Roer for long, once the Roer defenses were gone. He apparently left second-class troops to fight as long as possible while he pulled his élite outfits back behind the Rhine. When the Roer line finally went, it went quickly, as these things always do, and General Simpson's Ninth Army tanks broke into open country—the dim, familiar reaches of the news blackout, which always means very good or very bad tidings on the way to us. This time it was obviously good, and we woke up Saturday with Americans on the Rhine.

Meanwhile those holding attacks developed into real ground-gainers, especially on the north, where the Canadian First broke clear away to the south. It was met by the American Ninth, swinging up behind Roermond and Venlo, two bastions on the east banks of the Roer-Maas which the Germans must have been chagrined to lose to a flanking sweep. Between them these two armies pinched out the big German salient bulging from the Rhine through Geldern, a complicated operation whose success displayed a new facet of Marshal Montgomery's skill in handling a large army group spread out over a considerable area. The holding back of the British Second Army, deployed across the Maas from the Germans who were winked out in this pincers, was a sound and rather crafty decision, probably inducing in the Germans a certain sense of false security which it is quite useless to enjoy when one faces Montgomery. Sir Bernard often moves exceedingly slow, but when his mind is made up and he has a good day, he is nobody to fool with.

The most important advance, of course, was that of the Ninth's main force around and through München-Gladbach to Neuss, across the Rhine from Düsseldorf, and Krefeld, on the way to Duisburg. These are the approaches to the great industrial centers of the Ruhr, whose loss, on top of the loss of Silesia's, would render the German war machine incapable of replenishing its basic matériel.

So now there is a new watch on the Rhine. What of General Eisenhower's objective—to destroy these Germans west of the Rhine where they stood? The three northern Allied armies, from Düren to the Hochwald, took 40,000 prisoners in a week; figures for killed and wounded must have run comparatively high on the Roer. But evidently the bulk of von Rundstedt's forces got out in time, as usual. Rundstedt might have made the crossing of the Cologne plain a bloody and expensive business, fighting from every village; in which case it would have taken longer and cost more for the Allies to reach the Rhine. But they would have reached it, and left Rundstedt depleted for the far more important business of defending the Rhine's east bank. He therefore chose the militarily sound course in pulling back so many troops. This is not much comfort to the soldiers who must now fight their way across the Rhine, thinking bitterly that Jerry always seems to get away with enough troops to make a stand on the next ridge or river line. However, there is comfort in the thought that Rundstedt will have fewer troops to hold a longer and more twisting

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line, from Arnhem to Cologne and the south. There is further comfort in the thought of the fresh British Second Army, no doubt well supplied with boats and bridges, and General Brereton's Airborne Army, the bulk of which has had a long rest. A river line is not, actually, any better than the troops and weapons which control it: no obstacle is real unless it is covered by a field of fire, and Eisenhower will have the attacker's advantage of picking the spot where he wants the Airborne Army to drop and establish a bridgehead to which the ground troops can cross.

Allied control of the air has played a large part in the success of the action thus far, and will continue to do so. The isolation of the battlefield may well be air power's most substantial contribution to warfare at its present stage of development: when aerial superiority approaches the shining goal of aerial supremacy it can seriously cripple the flow of supplies and troops, and do much damage on retreat-clogged roads. Recent operations against railway marshaling yards, switch points, rail lines, and highways have been far more extensive than those which preceded the Normandy breakout last summer, and the effect on German movements has been correspondingly more stringent. As was the case in the Normandy battle, the Allied air forces are ranging well behind the battle zone—as far back as Berlin, Magdeburg, Leipzig, and Nürnberg. These attacks, now that the squeeze from east and west on Germany has really begun, directly aid the Red Army as well: an attack on Berlin, which is long-range and therefore "strategic" for the Western Allies, is close-range and therefore almost "tactical" for Zhukov's armies only forty miles away.

These armies have been enjoying their "creative pause" while Eisenhower's troops have been sweeping up to the Rhine, there to enjoy their own "creative pause." The great potentiality of the situation thus unfolding is that Zhukov's flanks will be finally cleared at about the same time that Eisenhower is ready to go forward again. A truly combined brace of offensives against Berlin and the Ruhr will then unfold naturally.

Chapultepec Love Feast

BY ANITA BRENNER

Mexico City, March 2

THE road to collective peace and security has led through Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks to Chapultepec Park. But so far Chapultepec Park cannot be described as a clearing. And it is still impossible to see the forest for the trees. The representatives of twenty nations gathered to consider inter-American problems of war and peace have had a week of glorious speeches and intoxicating vistas of economic and political brotherhood, with the boyish friendliness of Nelson Rockefeller and the almost priestly benevolence of Ezequiel Padilla keynoting the scene. Noble resolutions and more practical proposals have flowed through the steering committee by the hundred. Filtered by this committee, which consists of the heads of all the delegations, the proposals being considered still number 150, with the case of Argentina far down on the agenda. However, the proposals run mostly along similar lines, indicating a real community of problems and points of view, and much previous consultation. The only maverick resolutions have been demands for a break with Franco and Cuba's appeals in behalf of Poland and Palestine, invoking the principle of security of minor peoples. All these have been cut off with the formula that they are not inter-American affairs.

Padilla, as president of the steering committee, blandly shelved the Franco question, thus relaxing Mexico's previously stiff policy and souring the happiness of those delegations that have specific mandates to insist on a break, principally Uruguay, Colombia, Cuba, and Guatemala. The concerted break proposed is out, though there may be bloc action. The Franco question often reappears riding on amendments to approved proposals, such as the United States plan to check the activities of enemy agents. A definition that would include phalangists will probably go through with hedging qualifications. Unexpectedly, the case of Argentina has not overshadowed the deliberations. Feeling about Franco runs much more strongly, but this, too, is secondary to the four themes repeated again and again in the resolutions submitted —mutual economic safeguards, protection of the rights of states, protection of the rights of individuals, and prosecution of the war.

At the start of the conference two things infused it with an extraordinary spirit of frankness, earnestness, and goodwill. The first was the urgent desire to have again open covenants openly arrived at; in this spirit all the principal committee meetings were thrown open to the press. The second was the strong hope that the United States would express a clear-cut post-war economic and political policy that would leave weaker nations less vulnerable to military and economic might. As the first fresh bloom of enthusiasm evaporated, this hope became a determination to get at least as strong a commitment from the United States and as much general accord on the fundamental problems as possible. What Latin America fears most is that its economic and social organization will become a shambles, first, because markets will collapse, as Peru puts it, "with the explosion of peace," and next because chiefly agricultural or raw-material-producing nations will be unable to compete with the United States industrially.

In its production of metals, rubber, oil, coffee, cotton, henequen, sugar, and other raw materials for the world market Latin America must compete with Oriental coolie labor after the war. Its only lifeline, it believes, is the diversification of production through industrialization. In order to maintain the price of vital products and at the same time obtain needed industrial equipment, Latin America wants a

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tight economic alliance with the United States, insuring, first, price stabilization through stockpiling and clearing arrangements and, second, priority in the purchase of machinery. The United States delegation has answered these pressing demands with declarations and proposals that seem to promise sweeping compliance but actually promise nothing except "we will do the best we can for you."

Assistant Secretary of State Clayton paid homage to all the sacred cows of the free-trade doctrine and at the same time promised stockpiling, continuation of controls, and government banking, thus creating considerable confusion. Our more ambitious document, the economic charter, is only a declaration of fine principles and was received as such. Since even the labor clause, which declares that workers ought to have the right everywhere to organize and bargain collectively, can be subscribed to by such nations as Brazil and Peru in principle, it seems evident that the United States wishes to eat its cake and have it too. So the principle makes a mighty talking point at least and may have far-reaching effects, particularly with the addition Mexico proposed—to continentalize the right to strike. The San Francisco conference may offer better bargains in political positions and above all in commercial arrangements than are found in the hemispheric preferential set-up asked for by Latin America. The corollary of such a development would be strong postwar bidding from other nations for Latin American markets. The other conflict in what was announced as the first important statement of United States foreign economic policy seems to be between the old catch-as-catch-can imperialism and the newer doctrine of industrialization and wage increases to create a consumer market.

In the political field, except for the Franco scandal, we have done relatively little weaseling. A mutual-aid agreement protecting national sovereignties and boundaries, with strong machinery to implement it, will probably go through; in Latin American eyes the Monroe Doctrine will then have been replaced by the Declaration of Chapultepec. The reorganized Pan-American Union is to be a real league of American nations, functioning through specially appointed representatives holding regular meetings and consultations, and implemented for emergencies. The permanent council has been given authority to act on any matter concerning American nations. This puts substance in the good-neighbor policy and is besides of immediate importance to some nations which fear imminent aggression. One of Uruguay's delegates told me that his country, lying between strongly armed Brazil and Argentina, feels like Belgium, with the extra hazard of having a liberal, democratic regime in a neighborhood where democracy is not popular.

So much can be chalked up to the credit of the streamlined State Department. It was not, however, a difficult job, since the United States and Latin America were in agreement. The utter absence of even the appearance of Machiavellianism in Nelson Rockefeller's manner has warmed the cockles of many a delegate's heart. In this mood Latin America has accepted the United States policy as progressive while clearly recognizing it for what it is—the official version of Luther Johnson's plea for meeting the under-dog halfway and giving him something before he bites. Fundamentally what motivates this conference and draws the delegations together is the basic fear of today's governments—the fear of revolution. Thus its success or failure will not be measured by diplomatic victories but by the degree to which the peaceful industrial progress blueprinted in the proposals prevents the violence simmering in many parts of America from erupting.

The Legal Case Against Hitler

BY RAPHAEL LEMKIN

II

THE traditional war crimes fall into the following categories: (a) crimes committed against prisoners of war; (b) acts contrary to the rules of warfare, such as the use of poison gas, the torpedoing of hospital ships, and the like; (c) crimes committed against inhabitants of the occupied countries. Because Germany has had demographic aims and tried to change the European balance of populations in its own favor, the most numerous and monstrous of its crimes fall into the third category. The fear of reprisals has also kept it from acting as ruthlessly against prisoners of war and in violation of the rules of warfare as it has acted against the captive nations.

In addition to the traditional war crimes, Hitler and his associates since 1933 have been guilty of murder, loot, torture, false imprisonment, and other crimes against residents of Germany hated or feared because of their religion, race, or political affiliations. The problem arises now whether the Allies can punish crimes of this kind, and by what means.

The opinion has been advanced that a state's treatment of its own nationals is an internal matter and of no concern to other states. The evolution of international law and international relations in modern times does not, however, justify such an isolationist view. There have been many instances of states expressing their concern about another state's treatment of its own citizens. The United States rebuked the governments of czarist Russia and Rumania for the ghastly pogroms they instigated or tolerated. There was also diplomatic action in behalf of the Greeks and Armenians when they were being massacred by the Turks. States have even entered into international treaties by which they assumed obligations as to the treatment of their own nationals or undertook to protect the citizens of other states against their governments. In a treaty with Spain in 1898 the United States assured the inhabitants of the ceded territories "the free exercise of their religion." In 1919 and 1920

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several treaties were signed under the auspices of the League of Nations for the protection of racial, linguistic, and religious minorities in Europe. The Declaration of the Eighth International Conference of American States provides that "any persecution on account of racial or religious motives which makes it impossible for a group of human beings to live decently is contrary to the political and judicial systems of America."

CRIMES AGAINST GERMAN NATIONALS

The doctrine and experience of modern international law on this subject have been summed up in a study published in 1944 under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The ruling principle is compellingly stated: "Each state has a legal duty to see that conditions prevailing within its own territory do not menace international peace and order, and to this end it must treat its own population in a way which will not violate the dictates of humanity and justice or shock the conscience of mankind." Since 1933 Germany has consistently flouted this principle. The concept of the "master race" which has the right to oppress and degrade "inferior peoples" was expanded to justify the conquest of other nations. The Germans started with the Jews and ended by enslaving all Europe. Even before the war the Nazi persecutions disturbed normal international relations. Large numbers of German citizens were expelled and had to be taken care of by the countries to which they fled and such organizations as the Evian Conference on Refugees and the International Red Cross. Wholesale confiscation of the property rights of entire groups of German citizens has been detrimental to the property rights of their foreign creditors and undermined international trade. Clearly the problem is not Germany's private concern.

Not even the Nazi state has dared to legalize crimes recognized in every penal code—common murder, mayhem, torture, false imprisonment, loot. The German penal code defining these acts as crimes has survived intact. The Nazis have tacitly admitted that these acts are illegal. When the disgraceful pogroms swept over the country, especially in 1938, the German government disowned responsibility for the "spontaneous indignation" of its agents who had robbed and tortured helpless people. The Nazis have simply arrogated to themselves a de facto impunity for their crimes. To restore law and order such impunity must be abolished. Order and safety cannot exist while masses of criminals remain at liberty.

The authority to restore law and order was granted to an occupying power by Article 43 of the Fourth Hague Convention, which reads: "The authority of the legitimate power having in fact passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all the measures in his power to restore and insure, as far as possible, public order and safety while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country." After the defeat of Germany the Allies will assume the rights of an occupying power, either by the fact of occupation or by an armistice agreement. Thus no legal difficulty bars them from punishing the Nazis for crimes committed against German nationals. Use of the authority granted by the Fourth Hague Convention is the simplest and most direct way to achieve the end sought.

JURISDICTION—ALLIED OR GERMAN COURTS?

The Allied military courts should conduct the trials. Persons who refer to jurisdictional obstacles to trying German war criminals in other than German courts cite the case of Coleman *v.* Tennessee, which was decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1878. In this case a soldier of the Northern army who had committed a murder in Tennessee had been brought to trial in Tennessee. The Supreme Court denied that a Tennessee court had jurisdiction after the end of hostilities between the Northern and Southern states, holding that the courts of formerly occupied territories had no jurisdiction over dismissed members of the occupying army.

In Belgian and French cases dating from the First World War, however, the opposite view has been expressed. An outstanding instance is the case of Bockstegen ("Pasicrisie belge," 1920, I, p. 104). Bockstegen, a former member of the German army of occupation in Belgium, was recognized by a Belgian soldier with the Belgian army of occupation in the Rhineland as the murderer of several people in the Belgian's native town. The accused was returned to Belgium to stand trial for his deeds and was duly sentenced. In an appeal to the Belgian Cour de Cassation he asserted that only German courts had jurisdiction, but the appeal was rejected, the court holding that Belgian courts could try men who committed crimes in Belgium while members of the German occupying army. It is obvious that this Belgian case is more to the point than the Coleman *v.* Tennessee case. Cases growing out of the First World War show a closer analogy to the present war-crimes problem than cases growing out of the American Civil War.

In addition to legal precedent, which supports the jurisdiction of Allied courts, there are strong reasons why the Germans should not be allowed to try their war criminals in their own courts. After the First World War the Germans extorted a similar privilege from the Allies despite the express provisions of the Treaty of Versailles that war-crimes trials should be held in Allied courts. A list of 896 war criminals was submitted to the Germans. By clever bargaining the Germans got the number reduced to forty-five. Only twelve were actually brought to trial in Leipzig, and only six were convicted. Farcically light sentences were imposed.

Moreover, the German judiciary has been morally depraved by the Nazis. Under the present regime German judges have enjoyed a large amount af discretionary power. They have had the right to establish their own definition of a crime when an express criminal provision was lacking in the penal code, and they have misused this right by sentencing thousands of innocent persons to death or hard labor. To let the German judiciary act in these cases would be like setting one criminal to try another.

The argument may be advanced that no precedent for the establishment of a tribunal for trying war criminals is available in international law. Actually such tribunals were provided for by Articles 227-30 of the Treaty of Versailles. Yielding to German pressure, the Allies consented to the trial of German war criminals by the Reichsgericht in Leipzig, but they expressly reserved the legal right enunciated in those articles.

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The Germans have estopped themselves from using the *ex post facto* argument against the establishment of a tribunal for trying war criminals by their promulgation on December 13, 1919, of a special law providing for such a tribunal; this was an *ex post facto* law for dealing with crimes committed in 1914-18.

PUNISHMENT BY POLITICAL INSTEAD OF LEGAL ACTION

A suggestion that the leading Nazis should not be brought to trial but "disposed of" by political action has aroused considerable discussion. One argument for this course is based on the doubtful legality of the proposed trials, but it is difficult to see how political "disposition" has a firmer legality than the judicial process. Another argument, much more dangerous, holds that the singular impressiveness of the crimes committed justifies action of an equally impressive character, that is, political rather than juridical. The case of Napoleon is cited as comparable in political significance to that of Hitler and his henchmen, who should therefore receive similar treatment. Napoleon, however, was not charged with any war crimes, nor were his armies accused of cruel or unusual behavior. And the transformation of European political and social institutions under Napoleon can in no way be compared with the destruction worked by Hitler's policies.

An additional reason for favoring the judicial process is that if Hitler and his associates should escape, their extradition could be more effectively demanded on juridical than on political grounds. It should be remembered that the Dutch government refused extradition of the Kaiser after the First World War because the request was formulated as a political one.

Moreover, the German overlords have deposited their ill-gotten gains in various neutral countries and under various legal fictions of title. Eventual release of this property can be obtained only through verdicts issuing from legal action against the criminal depositors.

It is the obligation of our generation to bring Hitler and his associates to trial. It is necessary for us to put on record a moral evaluation of their acts and to clarify the standards by which international society can live. The conscience of shocked humanity demands that justice be done. Also, although Hitler is guilty of the murder of millions, he must be tried and sentenced as a common criminal to preclude as far as possible his survival in German history as a martyred hero.

The Nazis have destroyed whole nations, a crime for which the present writer has coined the word "genocide"—in analogy with homicide and fratricide. The world should feel and express its solidarity in the condemnation of so monstrous a crime. Expression of such solidarity might well take the form of an international treaty, to be signed by the United Nations and the neutrals, in which "genocide" would be placed on the list of international crimes, along with piracy and trade in women, slaves, and narcotics. The crime of genocide should be made extraditable. Thus neutrals, as signatories to such a treaty, could not grant asylum to escaping war criminals or treat a demand for extradition as an infringement upon their sovereignty.

[*The first part of this article appeared in the issue of February 24.*]

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IN A WASHINGTON DISPATCH to the New York *Evening Post,* Mr. Mark Sullivan writes that the railway legislation "is a sign of the strongly conservative state of public opinion in the United States at the present time." This is probably an accurate analysis, except that some people will be disposed to substitute for "conservative" the stronger word "reactionary." The present state of public opinion in America is due partly to the fact that we suffered less and learned less in the war than did Europe; partly to the natural continuation of despotic methods to which the war accustomed us at home; partly to great industrial prosperity which silences criticism and discontent; and partly to extensive insidious propaganda intended to prejudice the public against the new political and economic ideas with which the rest of the world is throbbing.—*March 6, 1920.*

IT WOULD BE TOO OPTIMISTIC to assume, merely because the leaders in the House of Representatives have decided to omit universal military training from the army bill this year, that the demand for such a program is dead. . . . In any event, time will run in favor of the opposition. As the war fever cools, and as workingmen realize that one of the motives behind the demand for conscription is not fear of foreign aggression but desire to have an army to use against organized labor, the chance of foisting this sinister plan on the country will dwindle.—*March 13, 1920.*

THE BELGIAN CHAMBER [has] granted suffrage in communal elections to women twenty-one years of age, with an amendment excluding women of "notorious misconduct." All Catholic members voted for the measure, all but two Liberals against it, while the Socialists were divided.—*March 13, 1920.*

FOR THE MILITARIST COUP in Berlin the responsibility rests not upon Ebert or Erzberger, nor upon any political forces within what remains of Germany, but upon the Big Five and the Supreme Council. . . . Throughout the war Mr. Wilson called upon the Germans to throw off the Hohenzollern yoke and to take into their own hands the reins of government. They did so, but it availed them not. . . . Mr. Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and Signor Orlando acted as if they desired chaos in Germany and Austria, as if the best way to enthrone order and stability in Berlin was to weaken and humiliate the Ebert government in the eyes of its people.—*March 20, 1920.*

PRECISELY as was to have been expected, the Lusk committee has fizzled out in its report to the New York legislature. It admits that "the laws already on our statute books, if properly enforced, are adequate to protect the institutions of this state and to preserve the constitutional rights of its citizens." Exactly so. . . . Nothing but politics is behind the various bills which the committee has submitted to the legislature in order to justify its existence.—*March 27, 1920.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan, "The American Credo"; Edwin Muir, "We Moderns."

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Should Veterans Have Legs?

BY EDWARD M. MAISEL

THE Senate Subcommittee on War-Time Health and Education, under the chairmanship of Senator Claude Pepper, announced last week a full-scale investigation into the needs of returning veterans. One of the first items which the committee should take up is the artificial-limb industry's sabotage of improved mechanical appliances for the crippled. Encouraged by governmental indifference, this has developed into a first-class scandal.

As the casualty lists come in from Iwo Jima, they should make us realize the tremendous number of permanently crippled and disabled men we shall have in America after the war. Booby traps, mines, and high-explosive shells don't make nice clean wounds; they shatter legs and arms and hands. On February 11 Dr. Sterling Brunnel, consultant to Secretary of War Stimson, told an army surgical conference that more than 15 per cent of all battle casualties have been hand injuries.

But veterans are not the only ones who need artificial limbs. Secretary of Labor Perkins reported last week that about 2,250,000 persons were disabled by industrial accidents in 1944, and a considerable number of these probably suffered amputations. Furthermore, the 1944 epidemic of infantile paralysis was the second worst in the recorded history of the disease in this country, and some of its victims will undoubtedly want to replace a withered, useless limb by an efficient prosthetic appliance.

In spite of optimistic stories, progress in the design and construction of artificial limbs has been slow. The aims of the manufacturers have changed little from Civil War days, when bracemakers fashioned crude peg legs for men who had lost a leg in battle. A serious need for intensive research in the mechanics of artificial limbs has long existed, as both the physically handicapped and the orthopedists know only too well.

Betsy Barton in her admirable book on the problems of disability, "And Now to Live Again," referring to the "medieval" equipment with which the handicapped must learn to manage, voices the thought of many a disabled veteran. "It has always surprised me," she says, "that the construction of invalid equipment, which ought to call for all the care and inventiveness that a Bel Geddes puts into discovering a new way to make light invisible in our homes, should be so devoid of imagination. The lame and weak and helpless of the world are pushed into back bedrooms and left because no one has taken care or time or trouble to look into their deepest needs and help them invent something which would make their ability to get around a little less tiresome and limited." Even such advances as have been made, Miss Barton points out, create a problem, because "the prices of all these things are still exorbitant, not easily accessible to the vast majority of people who are needing and going to need them."

The necessity for scientific investigation in this field and the responsibility of government for such research were plainly acknowledged during World War I. An official report in the National Archives (S.G.O. 442-3, Artificial Limbs) in Washington outlines the technical complications of the subject: "The study of the general action of artificial limbs and the determination of the relative value of the many different devices for obtaining a natural knee- and ankle-joint movement are questions that can be solved only by long and patient investigation. The undertaking is obviously not one to be considered during war but offers a very proper subject for the attention of the government in time of peace."

In time of peace, however, this turned out to be a responsibility which the government failed to discharge. Research was left mainly to the sporadic and uncoordinated efforts of the limb manufacturers. *Surgical Business,* in its issue of September, 1939, described how this peace-time research was in the main conducted. "In the mad rush to secure the profitable private amputee market," it said, "quite a few makers have resorted to 'secret' processes and new 'inventions' designed to attract the interest of prospects. These developments unfortunately often exist merely in the mind of the manufacturer. Often they are merely a springboard upon which to launch a new selling effort. It is obvious that, given an opportunity, any worth-while development will stand on its own feet, and bring prestige and profit to the inventor. On the other hand, some hoard a 'secret' process for a lifetime and very often die with it."

It is shocking that after three years of war the spasmodic research efforts of the limb manufacturers, augmented by contributions from the army, navy, and Veterans' Administration, still provide most of the experimentation in this field.

There has been only the most inadequate investigation of the possible utilization of plastics. The "Celastik" process, for example, which appears to have been effectively demonstrated in South Africa, uses a plastic material which is molded while soft about the stump of the amputated limb. After the mold has solidified, it is removed and inserted in the artificial limb, assuring an exact fit. A new Celastik insert can be made whenever the stump shrinks or alters. This method not only gives a better fit but greatly reduces the time required for adjusting an appliance to the wearer.

What the scattered victims of accidents endure in normal times is universalized in time of war. As their ranks are swollen by the wounded soldiers, their plea mounts in volume and begins to make itself heard. In 1942 the annual convention of the American Legion adopted a resolution which frankly stated: "Improvement in the manufacturing of artificial limbs has not kept pace with mechanical progress shown in many other phases of engineering; and progress in mechanical construction of artificial limbs cannot be expected because the manufacturers have neither the

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resources nor the equipment to engage in extensive research engineering work unless government agencies will assist in the research so that scientific talent can be applied in solving this urgent and important problem." The resolution went on to indorse all efforts "to establish a laboratory for scientific research in artificial-limb manufacture and . . . to secure federal and other funds in order to establish this laboratory immediately, so that victims of this world war can be the immediate beneficiaries of this much-needed service."

With the enormous influence of the American Legion behind this injunction, what happened to sidetrack the immediate setting up of the "much-needed service"? On November 14, 1942, Chester C. Haddan, president of the Association of Limb Manufacturers of America, received a letter from Brigadier General Frank T. Hines, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, regarding the resolution which had been adopted at the American Legion convention. Mr. Haddan gave this report of the letter's contents: "General Hines stated in his letter to me that it had been his impression that competition was particularly keen in artificial limbs, and that he supposed . . . each manufacturer of artificial limbs would be under the necessity of making a product that would attract and hold patrons, and . . . would be alert to such improvements of his product as would extend his market. The General said further that it had been his impression that the artificial limbs, of certain manufacturers at least, have attained a high degree of ingenuity and design, and that he was not aware that the improvement in the manufacturing of artificial limbs has not kept pace with the mechanical progress known in many other phases of engineering."

Needless to say, the president of the Association of Limb Manufacturers of America hastened to assure the General that he was entirely correct in his "impressions," that the American Legion was indeed all wet, and that progress in the limb industry had exceeded even the General's generous estimate. He added that some of the members of his organization "maintain a research department and have spent many thousands of dollars year after year in research." (It is hard to discover any members who have spent thousands of dollars year after year in research. They have certainly issued no regular scientific reports embodying the results of their costly research.) In conclusion Mr. Haddan revealed the core of his worry: "It would appear that there is absolutely no necessity for the allocation of any federal funds for research in this field at the present time."

Thus so powerful an organization as the American Legion was thwarted in its declared intention of establishing a "much-needed service," essential to the welfare of the disabled veterans of World War II.

"This is an illustration," Mr. Haddan informed his associates after further correspondence with General Hines, "of how the association can protect its members by promptly and properly meeting such things as this at the time they arise." It was a little unfair to take the full credit; a certain amount of callousness and indifference in the Veterans' Administration was also needed to produce the desired result.

Though Mr. Haddan called the issue "closed," criticism was not entirely strangled. In November, 1943, therefore, the Association of Limb Manufacturers founded the Research Institute Foundation, Inc., a non-profit, scientific-research organization. Prodding from the National Research Council of the Office of Scientific Research and Development is believed to have been a potent factor in this change of heart. In view of Mr. Haddan's strong repudiation of the need for research, there is grim humor in the prospectus of the new institute. "The need for a scientific organization of this kind," it says, "has long been apparent; it remained, however, for the urgencies brought about by World War II to bring such an organization into being." And after Mr. Haddan's denial of any "necessity for the allocation of any federal funds for research in this field at the present time," there is irony in his announcement of plans for financing the enterprise: "The foundation will be financed by contributions from interested persons or organizations, grants, bequests, and donations; or by allocation of federal and state funds."

Thus far the project has been poorly financed. The National Association of Manufacturers expressed interest but took no action.

At their convention in Chicago on January 30 and 31, 1945, the limb makers were unable to point to any substantial accomplishments of the foundation since its establishment in 1943. Moreover, the existence of "special interests" makes hopeful developments from that quarter seem unlikely. For example, two of the most prominent manufacturers and a colleague in Canada are reputed to be interested in British patents on metal limbs. They will certainly not encourage research that might lead to the adoption of plastic or other novel types of appliance.

It may be too early to judge the new institute, and to decide whether the board of governors recruited from civilian orthopedic surgeons as well as from the army, navy, and Veterans' Administration will be able to rise above the mediocre level of research that has hitherto satisfied the limb industry. It is not too early, however, to repeat the original recommendations of the American Legion. Improvement in the design of artificial limbs is too vital to the happiness and well-being of our disabled veterans to be left to any private group of this kind, however well-intentioned. It is a task for the most extensive, solidly financed, and disinterested research.

Puritan Poem

New York, February 27. Commissioner Paul Moss insisted on the closing of the play "Trio" as a condition of renewing the lease of the Belasco Theater.

Commissioner of License Moss
Of public morals is the boss.
He constitutes himself the law
On what is clean and what *is* raw,
And if he thinks a play is pruri-
Ent, he acts as judge and jury,
And saves us, thus, by finer vision,
From a possibly fallible decision.

And yet, we would not mourn our loss
If he were ex-Commissioner Moss.

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Who Are the Partisans?

BY MILTON BRACKER

Rome, February 20

WHAT—and why—is a partisan? That is a question which demands an immediate and accurate answer, because the answer will help to provide a solution for acute international problems which refuse to lie quiet until the war's end. Nobody can pretend that the attitude of the Allies toward the "partisans" in Greece and Belgium, and to a lesser extent in France, *no matter* how "painfully necessary" it may have been, points the way to a harmonious post-war settlement of Europe's troubles.

The word "partisan" used to conjure up a picture of a ragged minute man, unpaid, poorly armed, and ill fed, who ignored incredible hazards to harry the enemies occupying his native land, long after organized resistance had ceased and the nation's leaders had fled. Lately, the term has been in danger of coming to mean something less noble, a sort of political bandit who seeks freedom—if, indeed, freedom is what he is really seeking—as if it were "a harlot to be picked up in the streets at the point of a submachine-gun."

No partisan I ever met quite fitted either of those descriptions. Partisans almost always are men and women who consider it far more important to kill Nazis and traitors than to play dubious roles in "tragic situations." Partisans almost always are Greeks or Belgians or Yugoslavs or Frenchmen or Italians before they are Communists or royalists or collectivists or anarchists or any other form of "ists."

It might help Americans to understand what a "partisan" is if they were reminded that there have been partisans in every age. When a foreign army or a dictator's gang occupies a man's home town he is likely to become a partisan overnight—or no longer a living man at all. A partisan is as old as tyranny, as strong as the spirit of freedom—as weak and imperfect as all mankind.

The men who dumped the tea into Boston harbor were partisans. So were the Carolina patriots who followed Francis Marion through the cypress swamps. Today's partisans, too, fight for an ideal. It may be obscure, confused, ultimately corrupted or even lost sight of, but deep in every man it exists; and it is the very fuel on which they fight. Not even the most bigoted critics of the E. L. A. S. in Greece or of Tito's informal legions in Yugoslavia can accuse them of fighting primarily for territory or money or a strategic harbor or personal gain or prestige. Basically, they fight for the ideal of running their own country and their own people in their own way.

Early in October I sat just outside Patras with Vasilios Riovolas, second in command of all E. L. A. S. forces in the Peloponnesus. He was then known by the impressive mythological name of Hermes; and his enormous beard, glittering eyes, and jutting dagger made him seem almost as exalted a figure to his first interviewer as to the followers who had never seen him. To Hermes, puffing an American cigarette and crossing glossily booted legs, there was no difference between Germans and anyone who ever flirted with the thought of being "in their camp." Perhaps in terms of human loathing, if not of military justice, his feeling was even greater against "Greeks who tried fascism" than against the Germans.

Up to this point Hermes might have been a Norwegian, Belgian, Dutchman, Frenchman, or Yugoslav. Only when he went into the matter of arms and equipment did the picture tend to particularize. He insisted that the mere possession of anything that the E. L. A. S. might want implied the obligation to give it up if even the least responsible E. L. A. S. man required it. Here obviously was no question of communism. Call his attitude personal, call it even Greek. Whether the views of the E. L. A. S. were right or wrong, there was nothing to indicate they were dictated by Moscow.

The essential fact is that the partisan in every country is an individualist. In the last analysis his only resort is to himself. He cannot go to the dispensary when he is sick or to the quartermaster to draw a pair of gloves to replace those he lost. The tragedy and the glory of the partisan are peculiarly his own, and it is simply not possible to superimpose the hard shell of power politics and expect it to fit the tortured human substance beneath.

The fact that Russia is interested in Greece and Yugoslavia does not mean that every patriot in both countries is a Communist and that one must make up one's mind about the E. L. A. S. or Tito as if communism were the sole issue. The predilection of human beings to misuse the very words for which they will die—democracy, for example—is not new. But probably never in the history of language has a word been used more carelessly than "Communist" when it is applied to partisans of any country, particularly to those of Italy and the Balkans.

Who, then, are the partisans? They are men and women, yes, and children, who fight fire and steel with flesh and spirit. They are the expert Dutch saboteur who taught his infant just two words, *Pappie dodd* (Daddy's dead), so that when the Gestapo came to wheedle information from the child that was all they would learn; the wizened French grandmother, Mme Marr, who hid seventeen American and Canadian soldiers; the Yugoslav poet-editor who after letting a Chetnik escape eleven times was asked why he hadn't shot the man and replied, "Don't be ridiculous; we got eleven rifles from him."

They are the men and women whose songs brought tears to my eyes in the broken-down truck which took us from Katakolon to Pyrgos—on stolen German gasoline—the day I made the original landing with the British in Greece. They are the priest, the banker, the storekeeper who rode with us the next day all the marshy way to Araxos, past children weak with hunger and malaria. They are the infuriated intellectuals —yes, some were Communists—who before my eyes smashed two store windows on the Via delle Convertite here and put up prepared signs reading, *Spie degli Tedeschi* (German spies).

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They are those other young Italians, with grenades and pistols in their belts, who, crowded into another truck decked with red, white, and green, tried vainly to accompany us into Rome from shell-shocked Centocelle—vainly, because on June 4 last year, as now, Allied authorities here couldn't quite make up their minds about partisans.

They are students, clerks, doctors, lawyers, and bakers; fools, thieves, ne'er-do-wells, and saints; Catholics, Jews, atheists; Communists, Socialists, Democrats, Actionists—and countless others who might literally be called non-partisans because they are certainly not politicians.

They come largely but not by any means entirely from the poorer strata of society. Most of them want a better society to follow their anguish, even if it means hurting some of their own countrymen as well as the invaders. When they were ordered by Field Marshal Alexander to call off organized fighting for the winter, they retorted that their work wasn't "summer sport" and fought on—in Genoa and Turin, in uneasy Bologna, and among the bomb-loosened rocks of the Brenner Pass. They still fight on with a grim patience, for they think that once the north, particularly Milan, is free, the knotty question, "Who is a Fascist?" may for a change be easier to answer.

Here are portraits of three Italian partisans whom I believe to be representative. I have spoken with two of them and I know their families.

Maria never belonged to any party and distrusts politics now. Her husband was captured before her eyes north of Lucca a few months ago; fortunately, her three young daughters are safe. A woman of grace and beauty, in her middle thirties, a fine linguist, she has been risking her life for months acting as liaison worker between armed partisans in the mountains and the silent patriots of the villages. She has seen children hung by steel wire, and watched partisans perform amputations on wounded comrades without anaesthesia. She never thinks of what would happen to her if caught. "The important thing is to act, always to act, never to think of failure," she says.

Bruno, barely twenty-five, lean, intense, crippled in a parachute jump, is the son of a professor. He has two degrees and was what might be called an "intellectual Socialist" or parlor pink. Now he has graduated from another school, an Allied sabotage school, where he learned to plant mines and booby traps. He doesn't know how many Nazis he has killed so far—except that it isn't enough.

Inez Versari loved and followed Silvio Corbara, a Robin Hood of the Romagna. With him it was a question of resistance, not of the politics of resistance. When Silvio and his intimates were ambushed by Fascists near Castrocaro, Inez killed one officer and wounded two others. Then she turned the gun on herself, just in time to cheat the Nazi puppets of the obscene thrill of hanging her in public. They hung her corpse in the piazza at Forli, which the Eighth Army captured several weeks later.

Idealistic, ignorant, embittered, brave, the partisans are death to the oppressor but easy prey for the demagogue. Beyond question they are, as Anne O'Hare McCormick said when she was here recently, "more than lines on the map; these are the young people who will make the future pattern of Europe."

Dalhousie Drops a President

BY JUDITH ROBINSON

IN THE week of February 11 most Canadian dailies published on a back page a small news item from Halifax, Nova Scotia. This was an announcement by the Board of Governors of Dalhousie University, Halifax, that after fifteen years in office Dalhousie's president, Dr. Carleton Wellesley Stanley, had resigned. Thus unobtrusively a battle that had gone on for months between anonymous wealth and a college president came to a bad end for the president.

But the end did not come before a member of the British House of Peers had aimed a few buzz bombs at Halifax in support of academic freedom. When Carleton Stanley resigned, the Atlantic cables were still warm with remarks upon the shortcomings of Dalhousie governors sent prepaid in duplicate by the richest and most generous of the university's graduates and benefactors, the Right Honorable Richard Bedford Bennett, Viscount Bennett of Calgary, formerly Prime Minister of Canada.

Lord Bennett's object of attack was the Board of Governors' majority resolution to resign unless President Stanley did. The reason given for the board's action by the chairman was that a committee of five governors charged with preparing a campaign to obtain financial help for Dalhousie's medical school had reported it useless to ask for contributions while Dr. Stanley, who had said things that antagonized rich people and prosperous corporations, was president.

Lord Bennett regretted further that he could not now withdraw the gifts he had made to Dalhousie and turn them over to some institution which considered providing educational facilities more important than alleged antagonism to the president. That one must have shaken up Dalhousie's governors a bit, for last year Lord Bennett gave outright to Dalhousie three-quarters of a million dollars to endow chairs of law and medicine. Recall that in the past he has given, or inspired, gifts of almost a million more, and has promised at least a quarter-million in the future, and it will be seen that the old alumnus was dropping his bombs close to the committee of five. He went on dropping them.

He inquired how many wealthy persons had declined to subscribe to Dalhousie's financial campaign because Dr. Stanley was president. He asked what sums had been promised if he were got rid of. He warned that if Stanley's resignation were forced on such an issue no really competent man would again accept the presidency of Dalhousie. He charged that since he had refused to be a yes-man, Carleton Stanley had never had a square deal at Dalhousie. He exhorted the chairman of the board not to let the enemies of Stanley do irreparable injury to the university's fame in their efforts to injure the university's president.

The chairman of Dalhousie University's Board of Governors is Colonel Kenrick Laurie (Indian Army, retired), a wealthy Haligonian by birth and inheritance. His mentor in university affairs is the ex-chairman of the board, James McGregor Stewart, O.B.E., K.C., one of Halifax's most successful lawyers and a director of many far-flung companies. It was J. McGregor Stewart who framed the unanimous report of the committee of five that it was useless to approach

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any wealthy Maritimer for money for Dalhousie while Carleton Stanley remained as president. It was J. McGregor Stewart who pulled the Premier of Nova Scotia into the fight against Stanley by a smart piece of board politics.

Dalhousie is not provincially supported, as are most of the larger universities in Canada. Its founding endowment was provided involuntarily by American citizens more than 130 years ago. The college was established in 1816 by the ninth Earl of Dalhousie, Governor of the Canada of that day, and its foundation funds were takings of the War of 1812-14. Privateers out of Halifax made a good thing of raiding the New England coastal trade in those war years, and the government's percentage on their prizes was collected at the port of Castine, after that Maine village was seized from the Americans. When peace came, Governor Dalhousie endowed the college named for him with the Castine fund.

Last summer, when President Stanley launched the public appeal for funds, he made a direct request to the governments of the three Maritime Provinces to bear an adequate share of the cost of maintaining the medical and dental schools that served all. J. McGregor Stewart seized the opportunity to move at the next board meeting that A. Sterling MacMillan, Premier of Nova Scotia, be made a governor of Dalhousie University. Opposing the motion on principle, President Stanley was left in the ungrateful position of barring from a place on the university governing body the head of the government to which he was applying for money. The Stewart motion was shelved because of Stanley's opposition, but its mover had what he wanted—one more enemy for the president where enemies could do him most harm.

It is admitted by all who know him that Carleton W. Stanley is not a tactful man. He is difficult, exacting, inclined to be high-handed with his staff. But he has resolutely defended the integrity of his university from outside interference. Dalhousie's scholastic standing has risen under his presidency, its endowment fund has doubled, its service to the whole Maritime community has been enlarged, and its part in the war has been played magnificently. What, besides personal dislike, has inspired the successful vendetta against him can best be guessed by glancing at one of the current examples of his lack of tact, the new Dalhousie Labor Institute.

The Dalhousie Labor Institute was inaugurated last spring, first of its kind in any Canadian university, "for the purpose of labor education." Its models were similar institutes already functioning at Harvard and Yale. Its funds were from a Rockefeller grant. Its intention, declared by President Stanley in his annual report for 1944, was to equip union officials with better knowledge of social and economic trends so that they might better serve organized labor.

The biggest single employer of labor in the Maritimes, and one of the five or six biggest industrial concerns in Canada, is the Dominion Steel and Coal Company, known as Dosco. Dosco heads are at present attempting to prove to a federal-government commission that the corporation cannot continue to mine coal, smelt steel, and bless the Nova Scotia worker with employment after the war unless miners' wage rates are cut. Among the union representatives presenting counter-arguments to the federal commissioner are some who have already made good use of Dalhousie's new Labor Institute. Among the leading citizens of Halifax who have had and hope still to have pleasant and profitable relations with Dosco, its subsidiaries and affiliates, is J. McGregor Stewart, ex-chairman of the Board of Governors of Dalhousie University.

In the Wind

AMERICAN LEGION POST 591, Hollywood, recently elected to membership a wounded World War II veteran of Japanese descent. The Legion's district commander refused to recognize the election. The post is fighting to have it recognized, and Los Angeles Chapter No. 1 of the American Veterans' Committee has passed a resolution commending the post and criticizing the district commander.

THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING STATION in Europe, announcing the first free election in occupied Germany, reports that an officer of the AMG suggested the title of *Führer* for the German member of the food commission at Aachen. The local farmers didn't like the idea. They gave their man the title of *Vertreter* (representative).

THE MOST SCATHING INDICTMENT of the wrestling industry we've ever heard was uttered by a five-year-old boy in a newsreel theater last week. As the wrestling match on the screen ended he said, "I'm glad that's over. Now we can see some fighting."

FROM THE OBITUARY of Bert Schultz, a farm hand, in the Lagrange, Indiana, *Standard and News* of February 1: "Lucille Hope became his wife, by common law, and three children were born to them. . . . The deceased was a faithful and hard-working man, though of humble station in life. He was not permitted to marry on account of having some Negro blood."

ATTORNEY GENERAL TOM WATSON of Florida advised the state executive committee of the Democratic Party on February 22 that it would be wise to repeal the poll tax. Such a move need not necessarily improve the Negroes' social or economic position, he said. "It can be done in a way that will reduce the evils. You can carry segregation to the nth degree. You can make them register separately and vote separately. If we do it right we can make history. . . . We can do it right. We've got the brains and the patriotism."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Late last year a Nazi meeting was called at Oslo to discuss anti-sabotage measures. One collaborationist, Svendsen Mö, suggested mass executions. Before voting on the proposal the delegates adjourned for lunch. When they returned to the auditorium Mö found a note on his chair saying, "You will be the first." Word has just arrived from Norway that a few days later Mö "departed this life in a rather unpleasant way."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*]

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Brazil Plays at Democracy

DICTATORS all over the world are busy preparing their democratic costumes in order to make an effective entrance at San Francisco. So we were not greatly surprised to learn that Getulio Vargas had suddenly lifted the press censorship in Brazil. But there are certain illuminating details connected with this change which have not as yet been published and may interest our readers.

The news first reached New York through a telephone call from Rio de Janeiro to Octavio Mangabeira, former Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who together with Paulo Duarte represents in the United States the Uniao Democratica Brasileira. Mr. Mangabeira has been living in New York since the outbreak of the war, aiding the United Nations' cause in every possible way but totally ignored by the State Department, whose policy has always been to brush aside the very men destined ultimately to direct the affairs of their countries, men with whom the United States will have to work. As one of Brazil's most outstanding and responsible statesmen, Mr. Mangabeira has remained quietly confident that one day he would be summoned by his people to resume active political life. But he did not expect that this summons would take the form of a telephone call from Rio while Getulio Vargas was still President of the republic.

It was the powerful, pro-Ally *Diario de Noticias* which telephoned. It called to tell Mr. Mangabeira that the government had just lifted the press censorship and that the following morning the *Diario* would demand the full reestablishment of democratic liberties and genuinely free elections. The *Diario* editorial and the editorials of four other papers were also supporting the candidacy of General Eduardo Gómez for the presidency in opposition to Vargas. Having remained aloof from all political struggles, Gómez is unknown in the United States outside of limited military circles, where he is considered one of the best officers of the Brazilian army. But in his own country his disapproval of the dictatorship and his pro-Ally sentiments are common knowledge. He was opposed to Vargas's 1937 coup d'état; yet despite his attitude Vargas promoted him from colonel to brigadier general and later to full generalship. Gómez never visited the War Department to express appreciation for his various promotions. The first time that he ever paid a call on General Dutra, Minister of War, was one month ago. The occasion of his visit was to say that since Vargas had promised elections he wished to inform the Minister that he, General Gómez, intended to be a candidate for the presidency. He added: "I hope that this announcement of elections is not merely a maneuver. If that is all it is and if it is meant only to deceive Brazil once again, then I shall not be a candidate for the presidency but for the leadership of a coup d'état against the dictatorship."

General Gómez's visit to General Dutra has played an important part in recent developments. On the one hand, the fact that the Minister of War failed to take any action against Gómez was an indication that Vargas is losing ground even among his closest collaborators. On the other hand, it gave the opposition a man around whom pro-democratic elements in Brazil might gather. Although, under other circumstances, a civilian candidate might have been preferred by certain groups, the fact that Gómez, although a general, is known for his lack of personal ambition and is favored by a large part of the army, has resulted in rapidly increasing support for his candidacy. Today he has become the spearhead of the military and civilian opposition to Vargas.

Vargas's every political gesture is naturally suspect. Already the constitutional amendments decreed by him on February 28, when he announced that the date of the promised elections would be fixed within the next ninety days, have all the characteristics of a maneuver. A political poll carried out by the *Diario da Noite* among the opposition groups brands this "constitutional reform" as a political trick designed not to change but to reinforce the fascist constitution of 1937, under which honest and free elections can never take place. His opponents are therefore demanding that the lifting of the press censorship be followed by the restoration of other democratic guaranties. In a statement made in response to the telephone call from the *Diario de Noticias,* Mr. Mangabeira said that "in order for freedom of the press and all other freedoms to become truly effective, they must not be bestowed as favors by the government but must be guaranteed by the existence of a democratic and firmly established constitution." In the same statement Mr. Mangabeira welcomed "with enthusiasm the movement in favor of Eduardo Gómez," whom he considers "capable of presiding, with the support of all Brazilians, over the task of national reorganization."

Possibly the Brazilian dictator is aiming at something more specific than improving his position at the Mexico and San Francisco conferences. Possibly, while passing through Rio, Secretary of State Stettinius made it clear that Brazil would encounter difficulties in obtaining the position it desires on the council of the new international organization if the present regime should be continued in power without change. But whatever his purposes Getulio Vargas has been forced to make concessions. The press is already using its new freedom with far more fervor than the regime expected. Besides publishing severe criticisms of the domestic policies of the nine-year dictatorship, it has come out for the immediate destruction of the centers of Nazi agitation still remaining in Brazil. It has also initiated a powerful campaign in favor of a general amnesty for political prisoners. If Vargas attempts to regain ground for the dictatorship after the San Francisco conference he may find that it is too late. The collapse of his regime would have a great repercussion throughout America, especially in Argentina. It would be one of the people's victories of this war.

The article which follows, by Samuel Wainer, gives a clear, up-to-date picture of the Brazilian dictatorship.

A. DEL V.

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Vargas in Modern Dress

BY SAMUEL WAINER

SURVIVAL of the Vargas regime after the defeat of the Axis would mean that Brazil would continue as a model and inspiration for fascism in America. For Argentina it has already served these purposes. In an article in Rio's *O Jornal*, Caio Cesar Vieira, Perón's intimate friend, quoted the Argentine dictator as having said that he was "inspired by the processes and methods of the *Estado Novo* to consolidate his own regime." The ousting of Vargas and the reconquest of the Brazilian people's fundamental rights would, on the other hand, lead to the democratization of more than half of South America and shake the foundations of remaining dictatorships. Brazil's two million industrial workers could then immeasurably strengthen the four million members of the Confederation of Latin American Workers in their struggle for freedom. In a speech made last May Vargas inadvertently revealed the strength of the workers' resistance to the *Estado Novo* when he stated that less than 20 per cent of Brazil's workers belonged to the government-controlled syndicates.

Vargas's totalitarian state, the first American version of fascism, is closely linked to its European prototypes and is based on the systems evolved by Mussolini, Salazar, Pilsudsky, and Hitler. It is not, as some would have it, a personal *caudillo* dictatorship of the type that occurs periodically in Latin America. Vargas, who was forced into the war against the Axis when the pressure of foreign events stimulated internal resistance, still hopes to survive the peace. He cleverly utilizes the prestige accruing to him from Brazil's participation in the war. Each laudatory morsel from the United States is fully exploited; at one time all newspapers were ordered to feature excerpts from "The Time for Decision," in which Sumner Welles expressed ardent admiration for Vargas's regime. In April, 1944, however, popular pressure forced Vargas to announce that he would permit elections "with the objective of completing the existing institutions" (the constitution) of the *Estado Novo*.

In the following months pro-democratic organizations increased their efforts, and last week Vargas announced that the date of the elections would be set within the next ninety days. He also lifted the press censorship. The elected President is to be inducted thirty days after the polling and Congress sixty days after. The question of modifying the present constitution or creating a new one is left to the new Congress. Did Vargas at last recognize that democracy is the wave of the future, did he fear a people's revolution, or did he merely wish to strengthen his hand at the Mexico and San Francisco conferences? The next months will give the answer. But two facts are certain: once the lid is off, events will happen quickly in Brazil; and if Vargas is reelected, the elections will have been faked, for the people are overwhelmingly against him.

What Brazil would have been like tomorrow had the people accepted Vargas's April promise of elections "to complete present institutions" is revealed by a glance at Brazil today. Vargas can now annul any Supreme Court decision by simple *decreto-lei*, a power that he has already used and that is authorized by the 1937 constitution. Political parties have been dissolved and unions incorporated into the state. Union meetings and elections require police approval and the presence of police agents. Strikes are crimes against the state, and strikers are brought before the nine-year-old "Emergency" Tribunal of Justice. The quality of justice handed down by this court may be gauged by its recent sentencing of the journalist Jader de Carvalho to a seven-year prison term because in 1942 he made a public speech hailing the victory of Stalingrad and demanding amnesty for political prisoners. The rigid censorship in effect until last week was a throw-back to the era of Portuguese emperors who closed the colony's ports "to avoid contraband of merchandise and ideas."

But neither censorship nor police activity can control certain war-produced phenomena. In its September 2 and November 11 issues the conservative *Revista da Associaçao Commercial* revealed that the cost of living in Sao Paulo, Brazil's wealthiest region, had increased 210 per cent, while wages had risen only 40 per cent; the average monthly wage is 480 *cruzeiros*, or $24. Coffee, of which Sao Paulo is the world's largest producer, meat, rice, green vegetables, and eggs have increased 140, 125, 130, 161, and 199 per cent respectively. In northern Brazil, where 40 per cent of the population is concentrated, the cost of living has increased more than 300 per cent, while daily wages remain on the starvation level of 50 American cents. Vargas did not seek to remedy this situation by establishing a Brazilian OPA or by taxing excess war profits, which have soared from 100 to 1,500 per cent. His "solution" was inflation: money in circulation rose from 6,646 million *cruzeiros* in 1941 to 13,667 million in August, 1944. Vargas brought Brazil to the brink of economic catastrophe.

Economic crisis sharpened the political crisis, and police terror was the first answer to increasing popular protests. The people reacted quickly. The Uniao Democratica Nacional was organized to replace the Unaio Democratica Brasileiro, whose principal leaders, expelled by Vargas in 1939, are still in exile. The U. D. N. is "dedicated to bringing together all democratic currents of the country in a United Front with a program for the reestablishment of legal government by means of elections under the democratic constitution of 1934, which Vargas abolished in 1937." Established organizations such as the Order of Lawyers in Rio and Bahia asked for the immediate amnesty of political prisoners. A Congress of Industrialists in Sao Paulo voted unanimously for free elections, for "only with the guaranty of a legal and democratic regime" could the tranquillity necessary for economic development and for the attraction of North American capital and machinery be restored.

The smoldering struggle has now broken into the open. U. D. N. activity is spreading like wildfire, and the underground press is flooding the country with manifestoes, pamphlets, and satirical poems. Last December Vargas was greeted on a visit to Sao Paulo with clouds of paper floating down from the buildings bearing the words: "Down with the *Estado Novo*. Brazil demands free elections according to the constitution of 1934!" In January General Goes Monteiro, chief of the military group that promoted Vargas's 1937 coup d'état, publicly admitted the need for abolishing

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the *Estado Novo* constitution, asked for the election of a Constituent Assembly to write a democratic constitution, and called for a general amnesty.

The initiative had passed to the people. Vargas could not imprison the whole country or solve the situation by demoting the army officers who formed the democratic wing of the *tenentistas,* those popular heroes of the revolutions of 1922, 1924, and 1930. Neither could he accuse the U. D. N. of communism, for in it are represented the most responsible elements of the old liberal and conservative parties. The failure of increased restrictions and police activity to counteract the rising opposition to his regime finally forced Vargas to grant freedom of the press and free elections.

A firm declaration now by the Inter-American Conference adopting as a permanent common policy Mr. Stettinius's statement, "We do not want fascism in this continent," would greatly strengthen democratic forces inside Brazil in the struggle in which they must now engage to make Vargas's democratic words come true. Dictators generally die hard, but Brazilians are not in a mood to be betrayed again. Let the American republics take notice that if the Brazilian people are again frustrated in their hopes for a restoration of democracy, they may conclude that only by force will Vargas return to the people that which he took from them by force.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE question has been asked: what will happen to the German mark after the war? The answer depends on how much power the ruling authority in Germany will have and how this power is used. Even today the very existence of the mark rests on the single fact that an omnipotent government prevents it from being used freely as a standard of value in a free market. If it were permitted to find its own level, the mark would have already reached the last stage of depreciation. For the amount of money in the hands of the people is tremendous and in ridiculous disproportion to the existing quantity of goods. The amount of paper money—banknotes—has risen from 10 billion marks at the outbreak of the war to 50 billion marks at the beginning of this year. And the amount of money in commercial and savings-bank accounts has increased proportionally even more. Moreover, it should be noted that for both forms of money the increase is proceeding at an accelerating pace. The circulation of banknotes, for instance, was swelled by 5 billion in 1942, by 9 billion in 1943, and by 16 billion in 1944. Bank accounts and savings-bank deposits show a similarly accelerating rate of increase.

The reason for this acceleration is no mystery. In a recent speech Dr. Funk, Reich Minister of Economy, admitted that the costs of the war were steadily growing, and that only a diminishing percentage of the expenditure could be covered by taxation. Thus an ever-widening gap has to be filled by inflationary expedients. In consequence the amount of paper money and bank deposits at the disposal of the population is six or seven times greater than before the war. If this money could freely rush into a market catastrophically depleted of goods, its value would rapidly depreciate to nothing. Prices in terms of the mark would rise to dazzling heights, and peasants, manufacturers, and merchants would very soon refuse to sell their goods in exchange for currency.

By enforcing an iron control the government has so far prevented this money from breaking into the market. First it set up a rigid and all-inclusive rationing system which precludes any normal competition betwen the purchasers of commodities. Secondly, to prevent price rises within the framework of the rationed quantities, it maintains a draconic system of price control, applying to everything and extending to every stage of production and exchange. There still remained the danger that considerable quantities of goods might escape into a secret, illegal free market and that devastatingly destructive prices might develop on this black market. A system of meticulous physical control of the stocks, raw materials, output, purchases, and sales of every single peasant, manufacturer, and merchant has cut down the escape of goods into the black market to a negligible figure. The net result is that while the money is there, it is frustrated. Inflation exists, but the bulk of the inflated money is forcibly debarred from any use and any effect.

For maintaining the internal value of the currency this system has worked fairly well. But it presupposes the existence of an authority fully equipped with the instruments of power necessary for its operation. The enforcement machinery required is tremendous—millions of obedient controllers and supervisors, the assistance of the greater part of the population, each one observing his neighbor, spying and denouncing, and the use of revolting brutality and terror. When the Nazi rule collapses, this apparatus too will collapse. All the dams which have prevented the colossal amounts of existing money from rushing into the market will crumble. Prices will run wild in the practically empty market, and in a very short time the value of the currency will probably evaporate nearly to nothing. To prevent this, the authority succeeding the Nazis—be it the AMG or something else—would have to preserve or re-create their machinery of control. And this machinery would have to obtain the same degree of obedience and assistance, and quickly become as effective, as under the Nazis.

It is hard to believe that this could be accomplished. It is equally hard to believe that the American and British administrations would be very eager to revive Nazi enforcement methods. One must expect, therefore, that after the defeat the German currency will be headed toward rapid and nearly complete extinction. This will add to the chaos in the country, and for the middle classes, in particular, it will amount, as in 1923, to a terrific expropriation. Yet in spite of these very disagreeable prospects the Allied administration may arrive at the conclusion that the wisest course of action is to establish a brand-new currency and not bother at all about the old one. In time some rate of exchange between the old mark and the new currency will automatically develop, infinitesimal as the value of the old mark may be, and in the end the remnants of the old mark may possibly be exchanged into the new currency. This, incidentally, was the method the Germans themselves applied after their currency collapsed in 1923.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

A CORRESPONDENT was kind enough to send me a copy of "The Robe," which is by way of becoming the best seller of all time. A million copies have been printed, and the only limit on its further distribution is the available supply of paper.

I've read "The Robe," and I am impressed again with how hard "easy reading" can be. I've also read an article by its author, Lloyd C. Douglas, entitled Why I Wrote "The Robe," which appeared in the *Cosmopolitan.* A reprint of it is being distributed by Houghton Mifflin, publishers of the book.

I found Mr. Douglas's article more illuminating than his book. Here are the salient parts:

> Stories about Jesus are always welcome.
>
> Authors of successful stories about Jesus need not be persons of great reputation in the literary world. . . . A large, ready-made audience waits to read any new evaluation of the old story, provided it is told simply, sincerely, and with a careful avoidance of the controversial issues which have rent Christianity into 247 separate organizations.
>
> Any time is the right time to do a novel about the Carpenter of Nazareth. Fifty million people in the United States think of Him as their Master.
>
> It is true though that in a time of general calamity, when the customary reliances are in jeopardy if not altogether overthrown, thoughtful people are disposed to examine their religious foundations. . . . They long to recover the effortless faith of their childhood.
>
> It was not easy to decide just how or where such a story should begin. . . . One day I had a letter inquiring whether there was a story about the robe that the Roman soldiers had gambled for while its Owner hung dying on His cross. Instantly it occurred to me that this robe was exactly the right instrument to use in a novel about the Master.
>
> . . . I firmly believe that my use of modern speech had a great deal to do with the apparent readability of "The Robe."
>
> I receive many letters from persons who do not understand that "The Robe" is a novel. . . . They complain that they have gone through the four Gospels with a microscope and have found no trace of the crippled girl, Miriam, who was given the marvelous voice. . . . And to all of these good people I reply: You must remember that "The Robe" is a novel. . . . It is just one man's attempt to draw a picture of Jesus and the people with whom He walked and talked in an age so very like ours that it wouldn't surprise me very much if—somewhere—in one of these wounded, weeping little countries, He should come again to renew His peace terms to a bewildered world.

Mr. Douglas's frank and business-like brochure on how to manufacture a best-seller includes many of the specifications he has used, but not all. For obvious reasons he leaves out some of the most important. In "The Robe" there are beautiful girls, handsome slaves, luxurious houses, royal palaces. There is romance and sex in a nice combination which titillates but never goes too far. He has mentioned the use of modern speech. He also tells his story in "modern" prose—"with Diana's warm and supple contours snuggled close against him" is a sample. The book has what is known as glamour and a very intricate, long-drawn-out plot.

On one level "The Robe" combines the "appeal" of the Little Colonel series, the perennial tale of boy meets girl, the historical novel, and a Hollywood spectacle in technicolor, which "The Robe" will soon turn into. In addition, there is the story of Jesus, which in the course of two thousand years has generated a store of emotion and interest that can be tapped by any writer who cares or dares to tap it. Finally there are the miracles, which here become matters of fact, not legend, for they are performed before the very eyes of the hero, his friends, and the reader.

What Mr. Douglas has devised and carried out, according to his own account, is a bold and quite unashamed exploitation of what the public is supposed to want. He plunges in where a more sensitive man, an artist, say, would fear to tread. He has no inhibitions about staging miracles. And he has no inhibitions, either, about making his Galileans just folks.

I find his miracles dull if only because they are stripped of wonder; his Galilean folks are movie folks; his Romans are drawn from the same Hollywood archives, despite his vaunted research.

And I doubt very much that the average reader is any more convinced than I am by the miracles, the stereotyped characters, the backless prose. Such books fall into the same category of "entertainment" as the general run of movies and the non-comic comics. All are designed to induce a pleasant state of suspended disbelief, to fill the time, to keep the mind, if not exactly occupied, at least passive—and to sell like hotcakes.

TO ME THE SIGNIFICANT THING about the popularity of such entertainment is its indication of the sort of fare in which presumably adult minds can be absorbed. The public taste, as defined by the purveyors of synthetic and sensational fiction, of which "The Robe" is a relatively high-toned example, has always seemed to me partly an invention. I've never felt, in other words, that the natural taste of the ordinary man was as bad as it is said to be by those who make a business of giving the public "what it wants." I still cling to this belief, but I'm beginning to feel that public taste is actually becoming as low as the hucksters of trash have always assumed it was. If so, it is partly because the hucksters have, over a long period, fed the public "what it wants" in overwhelming doses and have at the same time proclaimed more and more openly that their product is literature.

In this activity they have been getting, I might add, more and more cooperation from reviewers. One of the literary phenomena of the day is the review that asserts: This book is good in spite of the fact that it is bad. And vice-versa. For there is also the review, reserved for any book that taxes the mind, which says: This book is bad in spite of the fact that it is good.

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Unfinished Debate

PROFESSOR FRANK KNIGHT, an economist, and Professor Thornton Merriam, a teacher of religion, carry on in "The Economic Order and Religion" (Harper, $3) a debate on the relevance of religion to economic life. Professor Knight believes that a democratic society requires impersonal standards of justice, to be arrived at rationally. The Christian ideal of love, in his opinion, is a much too sentimental and personal attitude toward economic and social issues. In this criticism he certainly scores off certain modern forms of sentimentalized religion, but he hardly deals adequately with the source of the will to be just to the neighbor, distinct from rational elaborations of standards of justice. Neither author is concerned with the problem of the relation of ultimate moral principles to relative and historical standards of morals, which is in a sense the crucial issue in any discussion of the relation of religion to social ethics. Knight wisely remarks that "absolutism toward principles and instrumentalism are twin or polar vices of modern intellectual life," but the question how to prevent pragmatism from degenerating into moral nihilism and how to prevent any high sense of moral responsibility from developing too absolute and fixed historical standards is not answered.

Professor Merriam challenges Knight's rather too vigorous laissez faire social philosophy and arrives at a greater emphasis upon social planning, but Knight may be right in suggesting that Merriam has not proved that his social philosophy follows naturally or necessarily from a Christian view of life. Certainly many Christians do not hold it and many atheists do.

The definitions of religion and Christianity are not sharp enough, and the analysis of the relation between ultimate beliefs and social philosophies not critical enough, to be of very great value.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Work in Progress

AN INTERESTING MISCELLANY of subjects is treated in a collection of essays by anthropologists and sociologists entitled "The Science of Man in the World Crisis," edited by Ralph Linton (Columbia University Press, $4). The discussions of the nature of culture, the existence of races, minority problems, colonial administration, the status and future of the American Indian, and associated themes contain some illuminating analysis and comment. As a whole, however, the collection falls short of meeting the expectations aroused not only by the ambitious title but by the much more modest editorial preface. If this is the best fruit frontier thinkers can harvest from their recent labors, they should be thanked for their honesty, restraint, and freedom from sensationalism. But one wonders a little why they didn't wait until they could bring back something of special significance. It is not made clear what "the science of man" is, or how there can be such a science as distinct from a scientific approach to specific human problems by cooperating scientists who care more about carrying solutions forward than about the "proper" limits of their professional discipline. And the "world crisis" remains just as dark and dread as before.

The news from the field of "race" indicates that anthropologists are not making new discoveries about races but are refining their concepts. It is no longer fashionable, and indeed it was never sensible, to say "there are no races." This was a non-sequitur from such truths as that there is no Jewish or Aryan race, that heredity takes place only along family lines, that races overlap in respect to certain features, that races have histories. The whole theoretical problem seems to be largely a matter of semantic clarification and distinction of meanings. It might be well to add a professional logician to the working company of anthropologists and sociologists.

SIDNEY HOOK

French Arms in America

"WE HAVE BEEN contemporaries and fellow-laborers in the cause of liberty, and we have lived together as brothers should do in harmonious friendship." With this quotation from a letter of Washington to Rochambeau, written in 1784, Stephen Bonsal opens and closes his beautifully written "When the French Were Here" (Doubleday, Doran, $3). This history of the French army which, together with the French navy, made Yorktown possible is a rare and happy combination of careful scholarship and fascinating narrative. Mr. Bonsal has followed the army from the time it assembled in Brest in the spring of 1780 until it embarked from New England ports late in 1782.

The descriptions of the siege of Yorktown are good, solid military history. The impressions of the French soldiers in a new country, as revealed in their diaries and letters, together with the reactions of the Americans to their new allies, constitute invaluable social history of the kind too seldom seen. Appraisals of Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and a host of lesser figures, made by their contemporaries, are interesting and significant. The part played in our Revolution by intrigue and diplomacy is made more lucid. A large number of important but nearly forgotten incidents—such as the naval clash between Destouches and Graves off the Virginia capes in March, 1781, and the brilliant, reckless charge by Wayne which saved Lafayette at Green Spring—receive deserved notice. This small book covers a brief period in our history, but its importance far outreaches its span.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

Facing East

FOR MOST AMERICANS Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, is explainable only in terms of Japanese treachery. Few have any real understanding of the shortcomings in American policy during the crucial thirties which encouraged the Japanese in their belief that they were destined to dominate the Pacific. And in the absence of this understanding very few have a clear idea of how American Pacific policy should be shaped in the post-war period to prevent a repetition of the tragedy of recent years. In "America's Far Eastern Policy" (published by International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, distributed by the Macmillan Company, $3) T. A. Bisson presents an extraordinarily clear, unvarnished picture of how this country stirred

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up Japanese antagonism by verbal opposition to Nippon's pan-Asiatic aspirations while providing it with the basic war materials without which its aggressive program could not have been maintained. In this perspective Mr. Bisson considers the basic security problems which this country faces in the Pacific in the post-war period. Of particular significance is his analysis of the prospects for the regeneration of Japan through economic reforms that will strengthen the influence of the farmers and the wage-earning groups within the Japanese population. MAXWELL S. STEWART

Four Explorers

NEVER WAS THERE such a cluttering of publishers' lists with rubbish as now in the case of books about Latin America. Yet the number of good books also constantly grows. The latest is "South America Called Them," by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen (Knopf, $3.75), which contains well-made accounts of the lives and principal Latin American explorations of four scientists. The first, and the one which I found most absorbing, is a study of the work of La Condamine, the eighteenth-century Frenchman whose expedition was undertaken to settle the dispute between the Newtonians and the Cassinians concerning the shape of the earth. The others are Humboldt, Darwin, and Richard Spruce, the botanist who, together with Wallace and Bates, laid the foundations of Amazonian naturalistic studies. The book also forms an admirable introduction to Southern Hemisphere geography, and because of its author's lively interest in the social life of the time, it will be of very great value to the historical student, especially the first section. The documentation is never less than adequate, and the use of it is responsible. There is an unfortunate tendency to push the story along with unnecessary violence, as in such a sentence as this, "When Humboldt wrote of the electric eels, all Europe gasped in astonishment." Nine-tenths of the book, though, is so absorbing that in these times it must be described as first-rate. RALPH BATES

Lumber Workers

ABOUT HALF of "Lumber and Labor," by Vernon H. Jensen (Farrar and Rinehart, $3), is devoted to events prior to 1933, and the remainder is taken up with the growth and problems of unionism since the first Roosevelt Administration. While the early material is available elsewhere, the sections dealing with recent events contain much new information not available in monographic or book form. The chapters on the growth and internal difficulties of the unions are full of details on the rise of the new unions, the split and formation of two non-company unions, and the factional controversy within the International Woodworkers of America. Dr. Jensen glides over some of the differences within the C. I. O. union. Officers who were following the Communist anti-war line early in 1941 are euphemistically described as having "an anti-war philosophy." No effort is made to examine the reasons why the same officers were more conciliatory and tractable in the fall of 1941, or to indicate that their new attitude reflected a change in political view by certain union leaders, or that the change was influenced by non-union considerations. On the whole, the author has

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shown much diligence in gathering and assembling a large mass of material, and readers of these pages will be rewarded by much interesting information. PHILIP TAFT

A Way of Peace

THE TECHNIQUES of psychology and anthropology have been applied to the study of an early and still actively functioning American Indian culture in an important study, "The Hopi Way," by Laura Thompson, an anthropologist, and Dr. Alice Joseph, a neuro-psychiatrist (University of Chicago, $3). The Hopi, a group of 3,500 American Indians living in the remote highlands of northern Arizona on a site they have occupied since about 1150, are one of the most ancient population groups of the American continent. Their name means the "peaceful people," and their intricately balanced organization is oriented toward peace. The methods by which the Hopi maintain a peaceful, democratic society, the gains the individual makes and the price he pays in accepting certain group restrictions which are at once both limiting and liberating are fully explored in this excellent little volume. An understanding of the institutions, types of relationship, and basic concepts that permeate the Hopi way can be highly suggestive to all persons concerned with the immediate and century-old problem of aggressive hostility in the Western world. Although the book is mainly confined to the presentation of its rich material and indulges in few generalizations, its total effect is to reaffirm the belief that democratic peace cannot be achieved merely by means of covenants between great powers. What is even more essential is the constant effort to that end of individuals in societies that are both sufficiently elastic and sufficiently firm to allow for social change and individual expression.

"The Hopi Way" has an introduction by John Collier, until recently Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and is illustrated with beautiful photographs. It is the first of a series of volumes resulting from a three-year collaboration between the Indian Service and the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago. VIRGINIA MISHNUN

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Facts Only

DARRELL GARWOOD, the author of "Artist in Iowa," a life of Grant Wood (W. W. Norton, $3.50), refers to his subject at one point as the painter who knew more about farmers' overalls than any other painter in this country. This pretty well captures the tone of the biography.

In a book about a painter whose position is by no means unassailable it is not over-exacting to look for some positive evaluation of his work and some indication as to how his work is related to the sort of life he lived—at a level a little deeper than "there was a water can nearby, so that got into the painting too." But little is said about Wood as a painter that would not be just as revealing had he been a photographer. There are a few references to matters of technique that are more misleading than otherwise. The importance of Wood's technique as formed and affected by his outlook as a painter is largely disregarded. Granted that it is difficult to perceive which factors determine which brush strokes, it is none the less an effort to which a painter's biographer is committed. No information on which pictures sold for how much to whom can replace that.

Even more irritating than Mr. Garwood's shortcomings as the biographer of a painter is his consistent and bland incuriosity as the biographer of a man. Wood's protracted adolescence in his relations with women, the failure of his marriage, and the conflicts of his personality with other personalities at the university where he worked certainly deserved more extended treatment.

But if all you are looking for is the facts about Grant Wood, this book will do. ARTHUR LIDOV

Doctor and Patient

THROUGH ALL THE HISTORY of medicine, from Esculapius to Jean Hersholt, the ideal has been the humanist as physician; and there has always been a large enough minority of humanists in the profession to give the concept some reality. But latterly we have been rather self-conscious about them, assuring ourselves of their existence by means of movies, radio programs, novels, advertisements, biographies, and all the other modern vehicles of myth. For we are uneasily aware that the doctor who served his community as healer, confessor, and God the Father is becoming extinct. For one thing, the modern community is too heterogeneous to be comprehended by one man; the doctor knows his patients almost as little as they know each other. For another, the growth of medical knowledge has made the family practitioner inevitably dependent on the specialist; the doctor

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who prescribes for Johnny's cough is neither the one who delivered him nor the one who will remove his tonsils, and Johnny's parents wouldn't want it to be otherwise.

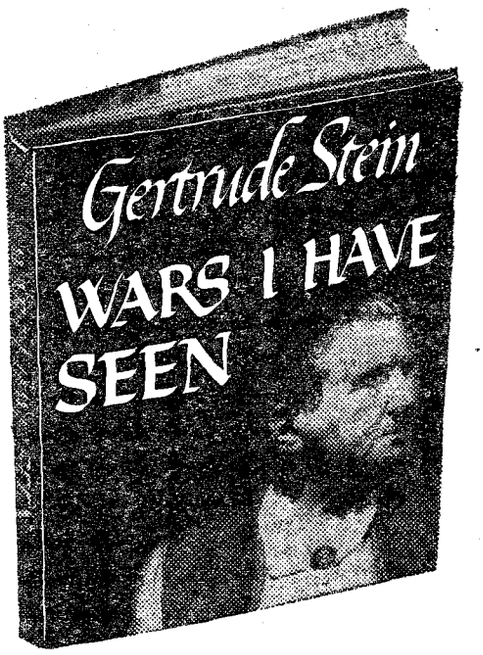
The modern system has obvious advantages. The paradox is that it is often less effective than the makeshift methods of the old horse-and-buggy doctor. An outstanding medical humanist, Dr. Henry B. Richardson, explores all the implications of this paradox in "Patients Have Families" (The Commonwealth Fund, $3). The main trouble, says Dr. Richardson, is that under modern conditions both patient and doctor tend to lose their identity as human beings, the one becoming merely a diseased organism and the other merely a technician; the doctor is not aware that a specific ailment may have social as well as physiological causes, and it doesn't occur to him to prescribe social treatment. Dr. Richardson calls on the physician to recognize his natural allies, the psychiatrist, the social case worker, and the community agencies, and coordinate his efforts with theirs. This takes some imagination; it won't appeal to the high priests of the American Medical Association, whose attitude toward social work would be less shocking if they were bartenders. However, only thus can the modern physician add to his own advantages those of the old-style doctor who brought his patients into the world and stayed with them for life.

J. MITCHELL MORSE

FICTION IN REVIEW

THERE has been a small spate of novels by newspaper correspondents. In recent weeks four have come my way—"The Troubled Midnight" by John Gunther (Harper, $2.50), "It's Always Tomorrow" by Robert St. John (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50), "Return to the Vineyard" by Mary Loos and Walter Duranty (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50), and "The Open City" by Shelley Smith Mydans (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50)—and they have started me wondering, among other things, why so much of a point has always been made of the inability of reporters to write fiction. For if by the ability to write a novel we mean simply the ability to compose a story with some kind of plot and characters, there is no evidence that newspapermen have any more difficulty than other mortals in achieving this questionable distinction; and if we mean something more, if we mean the ability to write a *good* novel, then it seems to me that the profession of the author is irrelevant: the incidence of creative talent in the journalist's trade is no more interesting or significant than the incidence of creative talent in any other field.

But on the other hand—and I am not being paradoxical—of the four novels I have been reading, two, Mr. Duranty's and Mr. St. John's, are worth discussing only because they are by newspaper people. That is, while Mrs. Mydans's novel and Mr. Gunther's are not good books, we pass this judgment quite without reference to the way their authors earn their livings; but we cannot read either Mr. Duranty's novel or Mr. St. John's without being struck by their lack of the very power which we look for in the trained journalistic mind—the power to understand the political events with which these authors have been professionally concerned.



INTIMATE friends of Gertrude Stein, aware of her indomitable courage and resourcefulness, were not at all surprised when she emerged unscathed from the Nazi occupation of France, with even her Picasso collection absolutely intact, and her poodle Basket wagging his tail contentedly at her heels. But Miss Stein had had her full share of troubles and excitement in the past four years, and it is this unbelievable period that she describes in full in this most graphic and revealing of all her books.

Gertrude Stein proved in her *Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* that, when she wants to, she can write straightforward English that any average high-school student can understand. *Wars I Have Seen,* with a few very minor aberrations, is another such book. The first half, in fact, which conveys an impression that the author was more concerned with foraging food for her dogs than with the fate of democracy, struck this publisher as all too comprehensible. Before long, however, Miss Stein very obviously was caught up in the heroic exploits of the Maquis; her sense of Olympian detachment vanished in the excitement of a battle for liberation; the coming of the Americans gave her the thrill and supreme delight of her whole crowded life.

Bear in mind that this entire book was written in longhand under the very noses of the Nazis. After they were driven out of France, Alice Toklas typed the manuscript and Frank Gervasi, who moved in with General Patch's Seventh U. S. Army, brought it back with him to America. *Wars I Have Seen* is the on-the-spot story of what the common people of France endured from 1940 to September, 1944.

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For instance, in "Return to the Vineyard," Miss Loos and Mr. Duranty deal with the theme of the resettlement of a devastated European village. It is a subject to which one would suppose that someone of Mr. Duranty's experience would bring a certain sense of political reality. Yet except for the single insight that it may be difficult, after this war, for the peasant populations of the liberated countries to get the aid of the occupation authorities in resuming their lives exactly as they were lived before the war, Mr. Duranty contributes not a jot to either our emotional or political comprehension of an enormous problem. "Return to the Vineyard" turns out to be a "Swiss Family Robinson" of post-war reconstruction climaxed with a ridiculous sequence of Hollywood gangsterism. Even its parable tone and poster-*like characters are an offense against reality. Yet Mr. Duranty* —I know nothing about Miss Loos—for years played a major role in forming American opinion about a very important reality indeed, the Soviet Union; it was through his eyes that millions of us saw the workings of the Five-Year Plan, the Moscow trials, the Russian purges. In the light of this sample of his thinking on the subject of post-war Europe, how are we now to evaluate Mr. Duranty's interpretations as a journalist?

The case of Mr. St. John is even worse; in fact, it is much worse. Miss Loos's and Mr. Duranty's novel has at least a serious point of departure, but "It's Always Tomorrow," the story of a newspaper correspondent who falls in love in Poland, loses his love but finds his soul in Hungary, Rumania, and France, and finds a new love and a strengthened soul in England, is from start to finish pointless, exhibitionistic, and vulgar. I have never read Mr. St. John's "From the Land of Silent People" or listened to his broadcasts; this first-person narrative is my only experience of his work. But I think it would be hard to convince me that the mind that deals in the primitive politics of "It's Always Tomorrow" could ever, under any circumstances, give me a political fact or interpretation that I could now trust.

It is difficult to explain why the novels of Mr. Gunther and Mrs. Mydans do not raise this question of their authors' professional authority. Perhaps it is merely because, in the case of Mrs. Mydans's "The Open City," the narrative stays so close to actual experience, and because, in the case of Mr. Gunther's "The Troubled Midnight," the pages of political discussion with which the trivial narrative is larded are sufficiently thoughtful to be reassuring. "The Troubled Midnight" is about the love-life of a young American Lend-Lease worker in Constantinople; its possible allegorical intention—the young woman chooses for her love among a Nazi, an Englishman, and an American—is not supported by its quality of fantasy. "The Open City" is an account of what it was like to be interned by the Japanese; it might much better have been told as simple fact than as such simple fiction. But although neither book is a very good act of the imagination, they still allow themselves to be estimated *as* acts of the imagination, not as evidence of a kind of professional inadequacy.

Quite apart from all this: for sufferers from late-winter grippe or other complaints which are alleviated by light novels, I can recommend "Miss Dilly Says No" by Theodore Pratt (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.50). DIANA TRILLING

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Films

JAMES AGEE

A GOOD movie might have been made from "The Picture of Dorian Gray." Albert Lewin's version is respectful, earnest, and, I am afraid, dead. Lowell Gilmore is close to the mark as Basil Hallward, who tries to be artist, Christian, and bourgeois all at the same time, and I very much like Angela Lansbury as Sibyl Vane. Some people are liable to laugh at her and to think of her as insipid, but I think she is touching and exact in her defenseless romanticism and in a special kind of short-lipped English beauty, appropriate to the period and to Sibyl's class, and evocative of milkmaids in eighteenth-century pornographic prints. In general, too, Mr. Lewin's modifications of the story and his outright inventions seem sensible, and I feel, sympathetically, that he has tried very hard to transfer the tone of the novel to the screen. Yet for all its oddity and outright weakness the novel—which I thank Mr. Lewin for causing me at last to read—is distinguished, wise, and frightening; whereas the movie is just a cultured horror picture, decorated with epigrams and an elaborate moral, and made with a sincere effort at good taste rather than with passion, immediacy, or imagination.

As Oscar Wilde's proxy, Lord Henry Wotton, George Sanders delivers the epigrams almost too expertly. They will doubtless panic the public they were intended to pulverize, as I gather Wilde's epigrams, and most other good ones, always have; but they sound too purely like the nervous merciless rattle of cellophane. In tone and pace that could be good; but it isn't good here, because the shallow clatter completely fails to reveal Sir Henry's boredom and melancholy or his stature as an intelligence and as a moralist. Within these limits I think Sanders very capable, but two better men for the role would have been Robert Morley and the late Laird Cregar; and I suspect Henry Daniell or Alan Mowbray might have done better, for that matter. Nobody can be blamed very severely for the failure to cast Dorian Gray adequately; the only proper actor I can think of is John Barrymore in his early twenties. I realize that Hurd Hatfield represents a most unusually hard try at good casting, and once cast he certainly tries as hard as the wrong man can; but it is sad, like watching an understudy fall short with the chance of a lifetime. My main over-all regret about the movie is its failure to reveal in these two characters the depth and force and meaning that are in each, and to develop between them the philosophical tension and the sense of irresistibly challenging, ambiguous moral vortex without which their story is just an ornately naive tract.

I wish somebody would take book lovers like Mr. Lewin aside and explain to them, once for all, that to read from the text of a novel—not to mention interior monologues—when people are performing on the screen, while it may elevate the literary tone of the production, which I doubt, certainly and inescapably plays hell with it as a movie. I also regret the choice of Ivan Albright—and his brother Syzygy too, if both are responsible—to work out Dorian's portrait in its later stages. I no longer loathe the work of the Albrights as I used to before I realized how innocent it is; but I can't see Dorian Gray, even at his ripest, as a cross between Ivan Albright and the Wild Man of Borneo. I can't see either why Dorian's sinning—aside from the harm he does others—should culminate in a couple of visits to a dive where an old man plays Chopin. I can understand least of all why Mr. Lewin and his associates passed up the best movie chance of all: to let the portrait change before your eyes, rather than bringing it on, changed, at set intervals. At the end, to be sure, it goes through a climactic welter and emerges in its original state. But Hays Office or no Hays Office, if the camera had kept steady watch over the painting while Dorian was off about his undistributable business, it could have put the audience through the whole thesaurus of evil, and scared them stiff into the bargain. Since practically nobody thinks it civilized, or in the interests of the common weal, to believe that there is such a thing as evil any more—in the bright lexicon of youth there are only war criminals, vitamin deficiencies, and similar social diseases which a little common sense will cure—this failure of opportunity is all the more to be regretted.

In Early Issues of *The Nation*

"The Young Jefferson"
by Claude Bowers
Reviewed by Lionel Trilling

Richard Wright's "Black Boy"
Reviewed by Henry A. Wallace

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE Monte Carlo Ballet Russe has returned to New York's City Center impressively strengthened in repertory and performance. The repertory, first of all, has been enriched by a number of the ballets of George Balanchine, whose inexhaustible invention and originality, imagination, and wit in his use of the dance medium make him the greatest of choreographers. Three of these ballets have been given thus far. On the opening night the company gave its first New York performance of "Ballet Imperial," in which the music of Tchaikovsky's Second (not First) Piano Concerto provides a basis for a grandiose evocation of the atmosphere and style of the St. Petersburg ballet of his period through a rich elaboration of its idiom, against an appropriate "imperial" backdrop of Dobujinsky. On the second night "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme," given in an unfinished state last fall, was presented with its choreography perfected and secure and flowing along with the Strauss music that it uses so well, the magnificently extravagant Berman costumes and scenery properly fitted, hung, and lighted, and all these elements adding up to one of the most delightful of dance comedies. And on the third night there was "Danses Concertantes" again, in which, thinking in terms of bodies clothed in Berman's wonderful costumes and placed in front of his wonderful scenery, Balanchine realizes the dance impulses of Stravinsky's ugly musical soundtrack in movement that is something special even among the astoundingly original and beautiful things he has done.

As for performance, the company dances not only with engaging liveliness but with newly acquired security and precision; and when the work is properly cast the performance is first-rate. Thus, headed by Danilova and Franklin the company carries off the intricacies of "Danses Concertantes" with brilliant perfection; and it achieves superb though not unflawed performances of "Ballet Imperial" with Moylan and Tallchief and of "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" with Moylan and Krassovska—the flaws being Magallanes's insufficient brilliance in the first, and Bliss's lack of Lazovsky's sharpness and force in the Indian Dance of the second. And there we come to the company's weakness—which is its lack of enough first-line

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dancers for all the important roles of the repertory. What the management does is to use its lesser dancers—Danielian, Magallanes, Bliss—in leading roles, and its stars—Krassovska, Franklin—in roles for which they are not suited. And the result is a "Swan Lake" with Danilova's sovereign performance, but flawed by the miscasting of Franklin, the gawky darting about and angular miming of Danielian; or an uneffective "Sylphides" with Krassovska, Boris, Etheridge, and Danielian—as compared with a "Gaîté Parisienne" with the brilliance and impact that it has from the fact that its leading roles are danced by the company's great dancers, Danilova, Franklin, and Lazovsky.

Nor should I fail to mention the orchestra—small in size, poor in quality—with which Balaban labors; and the particularly atrocious arrangement of the music of "Les Sylphides."

There is important news about books. Bernard Shaw's "London Music in 1888-1889" has been seen again in bookstores recently; and if you missed it when it was first published, don't miss it now; for the day-to-day happenings of London's musical world were the occasion for some of the most perceptive and readable writing that has ever been done about music. If it is public demand that has led Dodd, Mead to make the book available, I hope this demand will induce that company to issue the three volumes of "Music in London 1890-1994," which it has not even allowed to be imported from England.

Shaw's writing is for anyone who knows music from listening to it; if in addition you have the sort of knowledge that is acquired from study of music you will want one, if not both, of the latest volumes of Tovey's writings published by Oxford University Press; for Tovey is the one scholar whose investigations into the language, style, and form of music proceed from love of music and implement insight into it as an artistic communication, and therefore illuminate and enrich the reader's own experience of it as such a communication. You will certainly want the volume of "Musical Articles From the Encyclopedia Britannica" ($4), with Tovey's general article on music and his articles on melody, harmony, rhythm, and the various forms. And you may want also the volume of "Essays in Musical Analysis: Chamber Music" ($4), with his general article on chamber music (but not, regrettably, the article on Haydn's works) from Cobbett's Cyclopedia, and his discussion of Bach's Clavierübung, Goldberg Variations, and Kunst der Fuge, Beethoven's Diabelli Variations, and some of the piano works of Haydn, Schumann, Chopin, and Brahms, in addition to discussions of a few works by Mozart, Schumann, and Brahms for piano and strings or winds.

Turner's book on Mozart has been seen in some stores marked down to $1.95; and if that means it is on its way out of print it is very bad news indeed; for the book contains some of the most penetrating and illuminating observations on Mozart's music that I have read. And it will not be replaced by Dr. Alfred Einstein's new "Mozart: His Character, His Work" (Oxford, $5), in which the scholar has assembled considerable factual material about Mozart and his music, some of it interesting, and the thinker has produced around this material a largely confused, pointless, pretentious gabble like that of Dr. Einstein's "Greatness in Music." The German scholars as compared with Tovey remind me of what someone I know said recently about Ernest Newman as compared with Turner—that Newman knew everything about music except what it is.

Alcoholics ARE Sick People

ROBERT V. SELIGER, M.D.
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ANITA BRENNER grew up in Mexico and has written several books about it, of which the most recent is "The Wind That Swept Mexico: The History of the Mexican Revolution 1910-1942," with 184 historical photographs assembled by George B. Leighton.

RAPHAEL LEMKIN was formerly a member of the International Office for Unification of Criminal Law and later head consultant to the Foreign Economic Administration. In this column on February 24 it was erroneously stated that he is now lecturing at the School of Military Government at Charlottesville, Virginia. He is no longer connected with the school.

EDWARD M. MAISEL was formerly director of the Service Men's and Veterans' Division of the National C. I. O. War Relief Committee and editor of the *New Veteran.*

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ARTHUR LIDOV is a young painter from Chicago.

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Letters to the Editors

Conscription for Peace?

Dear Sirs: The proponents of peace-time conscription, and most of the critics as well, assume that the United States is a generous and peace-loving nation, working for all that is right and just in the world. But can the rest of the world afford any such assumption? If the United States demands the right to maintain a five-ocean navy and an army of some ten million men, including the trained reserves, will not the rest of the world be justified in looking at us as Public Enemy Number One of the world, and in taking economic and military measures to balance this threat to world peace? Will it not lead only to a new armament race? Will not a new armament race lead only to war?

Even the critics of peace-time conscription may hold that the attitude of the rest of the world is wrong, and that the United States will not use its armaments for aggressive purposes. Unfortunately for the peace of the world, the people of the United States are very apt to be wrong, and the rest of the world absolutely right.

There are many factors which indicate that the United States is almost certain to be the next nation to start out to conquer the world. This will be especially true if we have a huge army and navy to start with. There are many factors which indicate that the American industrialist who is credited with asking if we are seeking to destroy in Germany the very thing we are fighting to preserve at home may have been speaking as a prophet as far as the post-war United States is concerned. We are very apt to find ourselves in the same position following this war as Germany did prior to the present one. We are very apt to find that our failure to meet the domestic problems following the war will bring about a fascist dictatorship here in the United States. We did not fall so far short of going fascist in 1932 as most people would like to think. We had many of the elements here that would have given us fascism. Next time we may well be less successful in avoiding it.

I do not profess to say that cutting down the navy and army to the barest minimum will prevent us from becoming fascist. But it will help. It will also give the anti-fascist forces within this country a better chance to counteract it, and give the rest of the world the opportunity to prepare to meet this challenge.

When I read the title of the article by Mr. Nollen I thought that this might be the point of attack which he was going to make, for the really important thing is whether we build a peace-time army to promote world peace and security, or whether we build such an army to conquer the world.

CLARENCE ARMSTRONG

Baltimore, Md., February 26

A Chance for Negro Education

Dear Sirs: The bill introduced by Senators Hill of Alabama and Thomas of Utah to provide $300,000,000 for federal aid to education is a necessary and forward-looking measure because it will help to make our children better educated and better able to discharge their political duties as citizens and their economic duties as producers.

The Southern states tend to have the highest birth rate. Yet they have the lowest per capita income. Consequently they spend only about one-third as much per child for education, even for white children, as the national average. The bill would partially remedy this by providing that part of the federal funds should be distributed in greater proportion to those states where the income is less than the national average.

Negro children in most states which have separate schools get a still smaller sum for education because of racial discrimination. The bill would reduce this injustice by forbidding those states where there are separate schools to spend a smaller proportion of federal funds for the education of Negro children than the proportion of Negro children to the whole number of children. Otherwise the bill would provide no interference whatever with our tradition for the control of education.

In some states the proportion of men rejected in the draft for lack of a minimum education was from 7 per cent to 10 per cent. Since the proportion of Negroes rejected for this reason was higher than the proportion of whites in all the Southern states except Tennessee, it is obvious that the white man is forced to pay with blood for the anti-Negro prejudice which discriminates by denying to Negroes a fair proportion of the funds raised for education in some Southern states.

CONSUELO C. YOUNG,
N. A. A. C. P.

New York, February 13

Democracy in China

Dear Sirs: Like so many accounts of contemporary China, the conditions that the anonymous Chinese scholar (see *The Nation* for January 20) highlights need to be seen in a wider perspective than is usually accorded them.

The Kuomingtang is indeed nearly all the bad things one wants to call it —reactionary, conservative, anti-foreign, anti-Communist, autocratic, fascist. Nevertheless (1) there are historical reasons for its having changed from its original role as a radical revolutionary party, one of which is that no nation can engage in total war without a good deal of regimentation; (2) the reign of the

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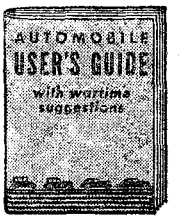

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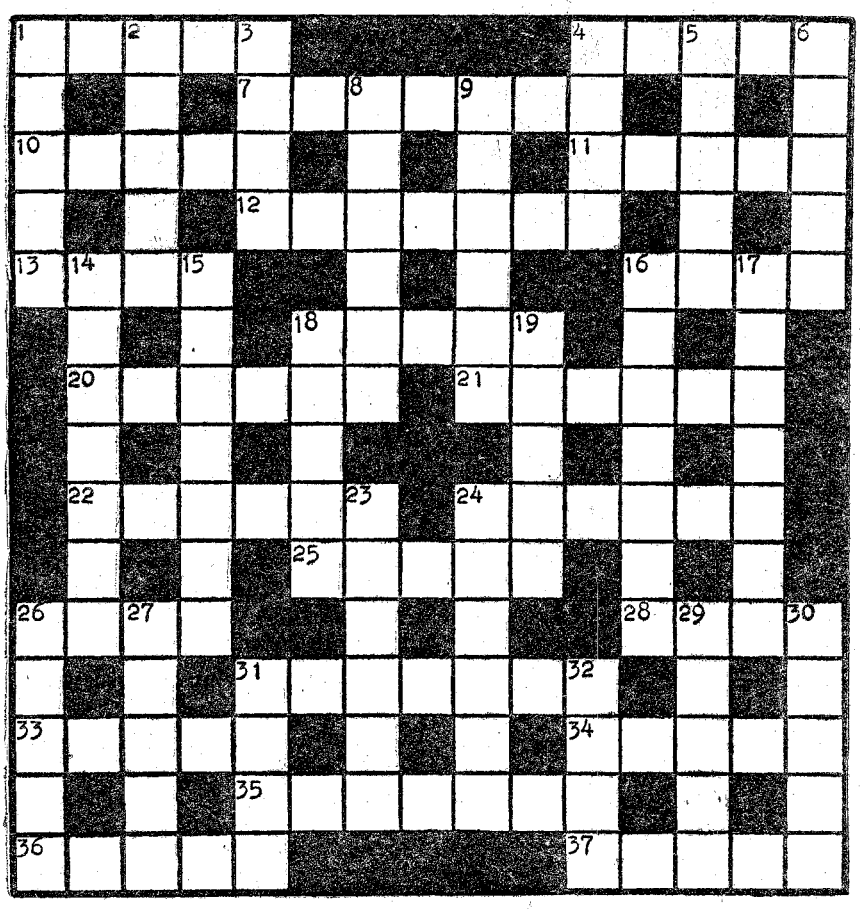
Crossword Puzzle No. 106

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 When lying is permissible to the upright
4 Giant, prince and astronomer, in Welsh tradition
7 Not downs?
10 A nauseous but 'use'ful oil
11 This London Guildhall giant includes the other one
12 They come from a live set, these priests
13 Laws are broken to produce the tools
16 Alfred turns to tea and finds it tasteless
18 This Musketeer is a host in himself
20 Mariana said she was
21 Not a soul
22 He believed in smiting the enemy hip and thigh
24 Did he ever see the pie that was credited to him?
25 A Scot appears in this Italian opera
26 First brewed by the early Romans
28 Not founded to commemorate the Gunpowder Plot
31 Encircles
33 Go back in the bus
34 Vocalists have sung of this Robin
35 He owed much, had nothing, and gave the rest to the poor
36 A lightweight never seen in the ring
37 Devour (two words, 3 and 2)

DOWN

1 I am discovered in furnishing foreign capital
2 Mr. Ford
3 If you want things to come to you, try this
4 Theories which upset a spinster
5 Drink up in royal fashion
6 Gee, this is a spectacle!
8 The goal of wit
9 It has been said that the happiest one is that which has no great men
14 Dispute noisily
15 Slim with the end in the middle
16 Lion tied up in a fog, playing the giddy goat
17 What 21 hasn't got, either
18 Once the talk of thieves and vagabonds
19 It cannot be said that this composer didn't have a sou to start with
23 Bar with nuts on a tug
24 If you lose at this card game you may finish up in the middle!
26 Native bamboo mostly
27 Marbled ingle
29 Here a punt is unsuitable
30 Sweet and soothing
31 Boy's, or a girl's, name
32 Blue photographic paper?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 105

ACROSS:—1 UNDERSTAND; 6 CALL; 10 BAD FORM; 11 TRANSIT; 12 FIRECLAY; 13 REGAL; 15 EDGED; 17 MECHANISM; 19 HOME SITES; 21 ESTER; 23 SALOP; 24 PLODDING; 27 LININGS; 28 INVOICE; 29 HIES; 30 PENNYROYAL.

DOWN:—1 UMBO; 2 DODGING; 3 RHONE; 4 TIME LIMIT; 5 NATTY; 7 ASSEGAI; 8 LITTLE MARY; 9 MARRIAGE; 14 METHUSELAH; 16 DUSTPANS; 18 CUSTODIAN; 20 MELANGE; 22 TANTIVY; 24 PASSE; 25 DIVER; 26 HELL.

Kuomintang is temporary, now that Chiang has promised constitutional government within the year and begun to bring some of the more prominent liberals into his Cabinet; and (3) there are many democratic movements going on in China outside its control.

One of these is democratic *thinking*. The Chinese cannot be regimented; like the Americans they can detect propaganda a mile off. Officialdom has been at its wits' end to keep up "spiritual mobilization," as the Japanese call it. There is no real indoctrination in Sanminism going on; students give the expected answers, meanwhile keeping their thoughts to themselves. This is not hypocrisy, simply prudence; the Oriental has a longer time-span than we; he can wait for freedom. Besides, there are ways of circumventing the rules—I have been doing it for twenty-five years. It is rather expected in China, which doesn't pay too much attention to the letter of the law. A greater danger than attempted "suppression of thought" in Chinese education is the fact that every student is supported by government bonuses and subsidies.

Finally, the fourth ideal of the New Life movement is not "modesty" but honor, to offset the theory of face-losing. Honor motivates apology, which the Orient has never practiced, preferring suicide (Japan) or resignation (China). No mistakes in China ever get repaired by the man who made them.

RODERICK SCOTT

Claremont, Cal., February 12

S. O. S.—S 101

Dear Sirs: Senator Taft of Ohio has introduced a bill which would create a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission *without enforcement powers*. This is a severe blow to S 101, the bi-partisan FEPC bill introduced by Senators Chavez, Downey, Wagner, Murray, Capper, Langer, and Aiken, which has enforcement powers. S 101, drafted by a legal committee headed by Max Delson, counsel for the Workers' Defense League, is backed by every major progressive group.

Act now! Wire or write Senator Robert A. Taft, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., opposing his weak FEPC bill and urging him to withdraw it and to back S 101. Also urge your two Senators to work hard *now* for passage of S 101. Send their replies to us.

COMMITTEE ON DISCRIMINATION,
WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE

New York, February 11

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